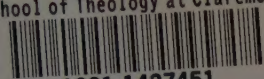


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**The Proceedings
of the
Unitarian Historical Society**

VOLUME VII

PART I

**JOHN ELIOT
LOUIS C. CORNISH**

**ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE BOSTON ASSOCIATION
OF MINISTERS
CHRISTOPHER R. ELIOT**

ANNUAL MEETING

LIST OF MEMBERS AND EDITORIAL NOTES

1940

**25 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts**

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The Society welcomes to its membership all who are in sympathy with its aims and work. Persons desiring to join will send the membership fee, with their names and addresses, to the Treasurer, or \$50.00 for life membership. Each member receives a copy of the Proceedings. About 125 copies are sent to Libraries.

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MORE MEMBERS NEEDED

For the second time, a list of our members is being printed. Our reasons for printing the list are: (1) To show that the Society deeply appreciates the loyalty of those we have, and (2) to emphasize our appeal for new members.

The fact that we have only 89 members now speaks for itself. We need at least as many more to enable us to continue our work satisfactorily.

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1. **Twenty Thousand** for the Society. Two thousand already in sight. American Unitarian Association to act as Trustee.
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We appeal to our present members and to Unitarians who believe that History means not only Gratitude for the Past but Inspiration for the Present and Future.

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JOHN ELIOT

*An address delivered in the Meeting House of the First Church
in Roxbury, on the occasion of the 250th Anniversary
of Eliot's death.*

By LOUIS C. CORNISH

We recall to-day the life of a truly great man, distinguished for his abilities, public service, and abiding faith. From this spot where we are gathered in the Roxbury Meeting House his influence radiated throughout the English speaking communities of New England, and among the Indians it reached through the forest to far places. His fame spread through England, and his name to-day is known throughout the world. We meet to pay him honor, and to rekindle our torches at the fires he lighted, to touch his personality and power.

John Eliot was born in Widford, Hertfordshire, England, in 1604. He took his Bachelor's degree at Jesus College, Cambridge University, in 1622, when he was eighteen years of age. He then became the junior master of a school near Chelmsford, England, of which Thomas Hooker, later to come to New England, was the master. "Eliot must have been well known and beloved in the community," says Morison (S. E. Morison, "Builders of the Bay Colony." John Eliot, p. 291). "for when he decided to emigrate . . . he promised his friends to be their pastor if they would follow him."

He sailed for America in September, 1631. After an autumn voyage of seventy days the ship "Lyon" reached

Nantasket on November 12th, bringing sixty persons. Among them, says the record, "were the Governor's Lady and Mr. Eliot." He was now twenty-seven years of age, and is described as "a young man of cheerful spirit, walking unblameable, apt to teach."

He was offered the position of Teaching Elder at the First Church in Boston. Perhaps Mrs. Winthrop may have spoken a good word to the Governor on behalf of the young man who had been on the ship with her for ten weeks! It was an attractive offer, but Eliot declined it for he felt himself pledged to his friends who were now settling in Roxbury. So he came here, and was ordained on this hill where we are meeting, the first New England Minister who had not been ordained in England, the first probably who had not been "bishopsed." And here Eliot began his varied ministry which was to last for fifty-eight years.

He had come to a pleasant place. Roxbury was as good a town as any in these parts. Some twenty years later, in 1652, there were one hundred and twenty houses, and when Eliot came perhaps half that number, all gathered close to the hill for protection against attack. The settlers were good people, some among them old friends. A book published in 1639 mentions Boston as a "pleasant situation two miles from Roxbury."

The first Meeting House stood where this edifice now stands. It was built of square hewn logs fitted evenly together, measured thirty by twenty feet, and was twelve feet high. It probably had no floor. The seats were hewn logs. Simple as it was, it served for forty years of Eliot's long ministry. The Second Meeting House, built in 1674, knew Eliot for sixteen years. Down the hill, not far distant, stood Eliot's house.

Here he brought his bride, Anne Mumford, to whom he had been engaged in England, and who had bravely followed him across the sea the year after his arrival. The home they established was happy and prosperous. One daughter



JOHN ELIOT(?)

The following note is from the "Memorial History of Boston," Vol. I, p. 261, and refers to the cut there used, and of which the above is a reduced copy: "This cut is made, by permission, from a photograph of a portrait owned by Mrs. William Whiting of Roxbury, which bears the following inscription in the upper left-hand corner: 'John Elliot, the Apostle of the Indians. Nascit, 1604. Obit, 1690.'—which constitute the only direct evidence of its authenticity. If authentic, it must have been painted in this country, for Eliot never returned to England . . . In 1851, the late Hon. William Whiting, M. C., found the painting in the shop of a dealer in London, who seemed to have a notion that the "Indians" were East Indians. He could give no account of the source from which the picture came, having purchased it with others.—Justin Winsor, Editor."

and five sons were born to them, three of whom became ministers. Three sons died before their parents. Mrs. Eliot lived to be eighty-six. She had learned some medicine and surgery in England, and gave herself freely to all who needed her. Standing by her coffin Eliot said, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife; I will go to her but she will not return to me." (Sprague: *Annals of the American Pulpit*, I., 21). Let Anne Eliot's name be honored. Without her John Eliot's work could not have been done. A large part of it was hers.

The Eliot home was given to hospitality. Here came the parishioners, and fellow ministers from all about, and Indians from all parts of New England. One famed visitor was a Jesuit from Canada, Father Gabriel Druillette, who in 1650 came to consult Eliot on Indian lore. Eliot invited him to spend the winter. He has left us a charming account of his visit. (Morison, S. E., "Builders of the Bay Colony," p. 306). Morison calls it a meeting of two saints.

Among the ministers who came were many old friends. Of the clergy in New England at this time no less than 109 were English University men, 82 of them graduates of Cambridge and 27 of Oxford, who took their degrees between 1580 and 1638. Of these 19, including Eliot, were in Cambridge University together, for the whole or a part of their residence. Among them were Shepherd and Samuel Stone of our Bay Colony Cambridge, John Ward of Haverhill, Samuel Eaton of New Haven, Peter Hobart of Hingham, John Norton of Ipswich, and Zechariah Symmes of Charlestown, and John Eliot, all of whom would be regarded as outstanding men in any time or place. (Statement of Rev. Frederick L. Weis, Th. D.)

John Eliot must have known these men in old Cambridge. It is pleasant to think how one and another of them, sometimes a few of them together, sat before their open fires, discussing their problems, and reminding each other of the old college days in England.

We may be sure that they talked of their situation. They were few. The English settlements along the coast were no more than a little fringe on the edge of this far wilderness of unknown extent, ranged by primitive people, often hostile, and always of uncertain temper. What about the Indians? It was by no means certain that the settlements could survive. There were 23,000 English born settlers, brought over in the 192 ships that had arrived up to 1645, and there were also about 3,000 children and youths born here in New England. There were probably between fifty and sixty thousand Indians. Beyond these were dangerous tribes in the Mohawk Valley. To Eliot and his friends there must have seemed to be innumerable hosts of Indians. We see how they faced two worlds, the English and the Indian. And we are to consider what Eliot did to bring these two worlds together.

But first let us briefly review his work as a parish minister. He preached here on this hill every Sunday morning or afternoon, alternating with his colleague, for in those days most of the time this church had two ministers.

("A Message from Rev. John Eliot," in the "Hills of God," p. 249, by Rev. Miles Hanson, Minister of the First Church in Roxbury.)

The following are extracts from one of his sermons. The original is in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and has been translated by a friend. Translation is the right word to use as Mr. Eliot used a shorthand of his own which now is very hard to decipher. It is very interesting after a lapse of about three hundred years to read words of the former great leader of this Church.

'Do not let us be filled with fears & troubles, and perplex our spirits, for is not God our Father? Those that drown themselves in worldly cares are like fatherless children, whereas we are the sons of God. Let us not be solicitously careful for the want of anything, nor be anxious & perplexed in regard to any person, nor yet be diffidently

distrustful, rather let us make known our supplications & requests to the Lord with Thanksgiving.'

'You would call him a silly child that should vex & disquiet himself how he should be clad, and how he should live when he had a kind father to take care of him: so unwise and foolish are we when we moyle & trouble ourselves about this life, what we shall eat & drink, and how subsist.

'Here I might take up a little complaint against ourselves. Where is the man in whose heart the Spirit of God dwells, reigns, & rules? Who preserves the clear light & glorious manifestations of the grace & love & glory of God which the spirit sometimes lets into our minds & consciousness? who maintains and cherishes those sweet & precious affections towards God and Christ's love to him, and delights in longsuffering & hungering, & thirsting after him?

'Dream not of golden days, look not to be free from sorrow and trouble, for we need emptying from vessel to vessel otherwise we should settle upon our cots.'

His writings which survive are interesting reading even to-day, despite their outcropping Puritan theology which is hard for us to understand. It is claimed that they contain less of doctrinal teachings than did the sermons of his contemporaries. They taught love, and duty and prayer. Mather tells us of the simplicity and depth of Eliot's discourses. He says, "The very lambs might wade in the shallows, but there were depths in which elephants might swim." (Morison, p. 292) He delivered thousands of teachings, addresses, and sermons, baptized hundreds of babies, and no doubt later on solemnized their marriages. He buried the dead. He received into the church two generations. He held various positions. He was for example one of the Reverend Overseers of Harvard College, and no doubt he shared the dream of the Harvard President that the College might become "an Indian Oxford." A building was erected somewhere in the Harvard College Yard for the Indians who should be able to take the higher degrees, but few ever

came. It is probable that Eliot had a part in this enterprise. We must touch on some of the many important public matters in which he took a part.

In 1637 the settlement was at war with the Pequots. The English finally broke this tribe, killed many, distributed some among friendly tribes, and sold many into slavery. Eliot protested most vigorously, claiming that for the poor Indians slavery was worse than death, and that such action on the part of the English might well lead to further troubles with the Indians. He begged for humane treatment. All of this made him unpopular. We are told "that angry mobs threatened his life, and as traitor he was warned to prepare for death. One Rie Scott called him 'an Irish dog, never faithful to his king or country, the devil's interpreter'" (Missionary Explorers, p. 25). When Governor Winthrop made a treaty with the Pequots at the end of the war he failed to consult the people. Eliot thereupon preached against the Governor for usurping the rights of the people. For this attack Eliot was forced to recant before the Magistrates.

Another incident has a somewhat broader interest. Eliot probably had believed that Cromwell's form of government had come to stay, that England would never again be a monarchy. In 1649 he writes a book called the *Christian Commonwealth*, which expounded a theocratic form of government. It certainly was non-royalist. For its time it may even be called democratic. (Adams, p. 259) Published in England in 1660 it was at once out of date, for in 1661 Charles the II had ascended the throne. Our Bay Colony, the very child of Cromwell's Commonwealth, was in danger of being held to be disloyal and democratic. The Massachusetts Magistrates now found that Eliot's book was full of "seditious principles," and they accordingly repudiated it and called on Eliot to recant. Eliot could hardly jeopardize his life work for what at most was a theoretical issue; the monarchy had returned, and had been very substantially

modified compared with Charles the I's attempt to become an absolute monarch. Cromwell's Commonwealth had ended. So Eliot retracts, but his phrase is interesting. He states that "Monarchy is not only lawful, but an eminent form of Government." Oliver Cromwell could have said as much without altering an opinion! (Adams, p. 259).

We will cite one other public affair. Together with other ministers he was asked to visit Ann Hutchinson, then on trial. He testifies to the Court that she has not told the Court accurately what passed between her and the visiting ministers.

You are to hear this afternoon of his part in the Bay Psalm Tune Book.

In all the records we get a sense of Eliot's remoteness from England. One of his letters, for example, goes first to Virginia, thence to Spain, and so finally reaches its destination. In these records we also get vivid impressions of his distance from us. Morison says that Eliot and the French Jesuit Priest who visited him were really nearer together than are we and Eliot. We find, for example, that he is horrified because ministers wear wigs in their pulpits, and he inveighs against the fashion for the Harvard students to let their hair grow long. These were matters of grave importance.

The records abundantly show his sound sense and wisdom. He protests against the use of tobacco among the settlers, but without protest he allows the Indians to smoke. He does not attempt to make the Indians wear the settlers' kind of clothing. On the contrary, now and again when with the Indians he wore their scanty clothing himself, and so clad preached to them.

Again his foresight is shown in his constant prayer for schools, both for the English and the Indians. On this hill he started the first Sunday School. Here in Roxbury he started the Latin School, which continues to-day, one of the honored schools of New England. He started a training

school for Indian ministers, of which we shall speak later. Not long before his death he gave seventy-five acres of land in Jamaica Plain to start what is now the Eliot Industrial School. He labored for Harvard College.

If we try to sum up these varied activities and interests in his long ministry, we can say with certainty that he was a devoted parish minister and was also deeply interested in public affairs.

Surrounding him were the two worlds of English and Indian life, never sympathetic, often in bitter feud. What could be done?

The answer in good measure hinges on what Eliot thought of the Indians. In Spain, about a century before, there had been a sharp discussion between two schools of thought. Las Casas claimed that the Indians were human beings with souls, and should be treated decently. His opponents claimed that the Indians did not have souls, were mere chattels, that is animals, had no rights whatever, and could be killed at pleasure. Eliot believed that the Indians were not only human beings, but that they were of the lost tribes of Israel.

This may seem to us to-day a remote field of speculation at the best, but then it was well worth considering. A traveler returns from South America, claiming that in the ceremonies and vocabularies of certain Indian tribes he had discovered forms of worship and words undoubtedly of Hebrew origin, and from this observation the theory apparently sprang. At this distance of time it would be discourteous for us to ask how much the traveler knew of either the Indian speech or the Hebrew!

Manasseh Ben Israel, a distinguished Rabbi of Amsterdam, publishes "The Relation of Master Antonie Monterinos, Translated out of the French." He comes to England with a deputation to confer with Oliver Cromwell about certain Jewish matters then pending, and perhaps brings his newly published book with him. However this may be, there ap-

pears "Jews in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, with the removal of some contrary reasonings, by Theo: Thoroughgood, B. D., One of the Assembly of Divines. London, Printed by W. H. for Tho: Slater, and to be sold at his Shop at the sign of the Angel in Duck Lane. 1650."

A second edition is printed ten years later, in London "for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivie-lane, 1660," which states "An accurate discourse is premised of Mr. John Elliott." And the reader finds himself possessed of some twenty-two rather musty close-printed pages. Eliot addresses himself to the writer of the first edition. "By reading your book," he says, "the Lord did put it into my heart to search into some Scriptures about that subject, and by comparing one thing with another, I thought, I saw some ground to conceive, that some of the Ten Tribes might be scattered thus far, into these parts of America." And he continues comparing one thing with another bewilderingly.

To-day we should want sources, anthropological reports, and the like. Eliot states his source very simply. "The history of the first times after the flood," he says, "is as followeth. The Ark landed eastward of the land of Eden, as the text proves, and Sir Walter Raleigh doth clear, whose judgment herein is considerable." His argument is tough reading, with many texts, but in the main it is clear. Since on the dispersion the Jews went eastward, it becomes plain that finally one tribe arrived in America, "And thus we have brought the story of the first times of the world after the flood, recorded truly in no book, saving the Holy book of God . . . , and thus finding them, I will so leave them." He says in conclusion, "Hence why ought we not to believe that the Ten Tribes being scattered Eastward? . . . And if so, then surely into America, because that is a part of the Eastern World." He refers again to the writer of the earlier book. "I was willing to intimate this much to yourself," he ends, "Having sundry motives thereunto."

In daily life this theory about the lost tribes of Israel probably played little part in Eliot's awareness of the plight of the Indians and their menace, and his profound belief that they must be converted. His heart went out to them. "Their adversaries think only how to exterminate them," says Eliot. He wished to save them in this world and the next. So he determined to preach to them, and change them into Christians.

First of all he had to learn the Massachusetts language, which could be understood by the New England tribes. We have several comments concerning it, which show how hard it must have been to master. "It doth greatly delight in compounding words," says Eliot, in order "to speak much in a few words though they be long." "The young brown deer ran through the forest" would be one word. A single Indian word has thirty-six letters in it. Says DuPonceau, "I am lost in astonishment at the copiousness and admirable structure of the Indian languages." Says Heckewelder, "I should never have done were I to endeavor to explain in all their details the various modes which the Indians have of expressing their ideas, and combinations of ideas." Says Roger Williams, speaking of the Narragansets, "Their language is exceedingly copious, they have five or six words sometimes for the same thing." Says Jonathon Edwards, "There is in the language (of the Monhegans) the full proportion of abstract to concrete terms commonly to be found in the other languages." (Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. 9, p. 222; Ibid, p. 230; Ibid, p. 231) Mather speaks of it as "this exotic language," and as "this tedious language." (Mather, "Life of John Eliot," p. 27) Surely these statements show that John Eliot addressed himself to no easy task. It took three years of constant study before he was able to preach in the Massachusetts language. And in judging what is to follow we have to remember that before Eliot there had been no serious attempts to Christianize the Indians and practically no conversions.

At last he was ready, and the great day arrived. On October 28th, 1646, he preached to the Indians in their own language on the bank of the Charles River, the Newton side, near Watertown. His text was taken from Ezekiel, XXXVII 9, "Prophesy unto the wind; prophesy, son of man, and say unto the wind, thus saith the Lord God, come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they might live. So I prophesied as he had commanded me, and the truth came unto them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet."

After the sermon, we are told that apples were passed around among the Indians. The October day, the river bank, Eliot, the Indians and the apples, make a vivid picture. Such was the beginning of his mission which was to continue until his death, increasing for thirty years up to King Philip's War, and after that going but brokenly.

Early in this Indian ministry Eliot established a sort of routine. Frequently, perhaps several times a week, he met with the Indians in nearby places. Once a fortnight he took longer journeys, frequently to Natick, eighteen miles from Roxbury, where he had a prophet's chamber in a corner of the log meeting house, as far west as Nashaway, (now Lancaster), and south to Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.

After Eliot had preached, the Indians were encouraged to ask him questions. I quote a few of them, some asked of other ministers and some of Eliot, for they reveal the Indian's mind with which Eliot had to deal.

How did the English come to differ so much from the Indians, when all at first had one father?

Why is sea water salt and river water fresh?

Can Jesus Christ understand prayers in the Indian language? After this inquiry John Eliot prayed in the Indian tongue.

How did all the world come to be so full of people if they all were once drowned?

How could there be an image of God since it was forbidden in the same language?

Would it be wrong to pray to the devil?

Can dreams be believed? What is a spirit? Why do the English call them Indians?

"If my husband prays," asks a woman, "can he with good conscience beat me?"

Suppose two men sin; one knows he is sinning, the other does not know; will God punish both alike?

Which was made first, man or the devil? Why didn't God kill the devil and have done with him?

How does it happen that the English know so much about God?

Asked if they would agree not to work on the Sabbath, the Indians replied, "We never work on any day if we can help it; we can easily agree not to work on that day." (J. DeNormandie, "Chair of the Apostle Eliot," p. 15; also Nehemiah Adams, "Lives of the Fathers of New England," Vol. III, p. 17).

To all questions Eliot tells us that he gave fit answers!

As he made more and more conversions opposition to him increased, both among English and Indians. Many of the Sachems did all they could to obstruct his work. He was met in the forest and threatened with every kind of evil if he did not end it. On one occasion in the forest a few Indians threatened to kill him if he did not turn back. Eliot answered them, "I am about the work of the Great God. I fear not all the Sachems in the land. Touch me if you dare."

The longer journeys must have been very severe. The roads were no more than trails. There were no bridges, and Eliot must ford every stream. There were no inns and much of the time Eliot slept in the open. On one occasion we see Eliot leading an exhausted horse. He is taken

care of by some friendly Indians. He writes to Winslow, "I have not been dry for three days . . . at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, on with them again, and so continue."

He writes to Mr. Hord, Treasurer of the Honorable Corporation which was helping him, "The Lord Jesus doth daily drop out upon us fruits of his redemption . . . and by virtue hereof do I stand . . . among the living . . . for he hath in some measure recovered me, and enabled me to attend my work; but if I travel in wet or cold it doth shake me much, and is ready to lay me quite up again; for which cause I am forced to be more wary and observant of myself than I have been wont to be." (Aug. 8, 1671) Eliot was now sixty-five years old.

We must remember that these were not occasional trips into the hinterland. The routine appears to have been followed month by month, and year after year, with incredible hardship and toil.

As the work progressed it became clear to Eliot that he would never get far with it unless, as he expresses it, the Indians shall "be taken off their wild way of living." They tell him that their great desire is to have a town of their own, and learn to spin. So the spinning wheels were given them. Eliot persuaded the General Court to set aside land for an Indian town in Natick, and the great experiment proceeds.

At the start we saw Eliot giving away apples, now it is spinning wheels, continually it was sharp edged tools of all sorts. He never went to the Indians empty handed. No doubt it was a necessary method, but it was costly for Eliot's supporters. Indeed, it has been figured that Eliot's converts cost the English Society for Propagation of the Faith among the Indians an average of ten pounds each.

At Natick a substantial meeting house was built, thirty by fifty feet. Around it were grouped the wigwams, for the Indians were slow to build more substantial dwellings.

After a little Natick proved to be too small, and other praying towns were founded. Before the end there were seven. All were probably of the same pattern, a central meeting house and surrounding wigwams. Increase Mather, writing in 1667, twenty-one years after Eliot began his preaching, states, "There are six churches of baptized Indians in New England, and eighteen assemblies of (Indian) catechumens . . . there are twenty-four who are preachers. Beside these there are four English Ministers who preach in the Indian tongue." Cotton Mather mentions nine English ministers besides Eliot preaching in the Indian language . . . Before the end there were seven praying towns in the Bay Colony and another seven in what is now Worcester County, and some on the Cape, the Vineyard, and Nantucket.

How far was all this satisfying to John Eliot? The spinning wheels were not much used. The Indians must continually have the presents. They did not like settled life. "I pray and wait," said Eliot.

It became plain to him that he must have more ministers, and accordingly he started a sort of Divinity School. He describes his plans and work in two letters. The first, written in 1670, when Eliot was sixty-four years old, is addressed "To the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the poor blind Indians of New England." (John Eliot's "Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel," 1670). "I find it hopeless," he says, "to expect English officers in our Indian Churches; the work is full of hardship, of hard labor, . . . what comes from England is liable to hazard and uncertainty . . . (the Indians) must be trained up to be able to live of themselves in the ways of the Gospel . . . Sundry of themselves . . . are able to teach each other. An English young man raw in that (Indian) language, coming to teach among our Christian Indians, would be much to their loss; there be of themselves such as be more able, especially being advantaged that he speaketh his own

language, and knoweth their manners . . . They must have teachers among themselves, they must be taught to be teachers; for which cause I have begun to teach them the Art of Teaching. I find some very capable. And while I live, my purpose is . . . to make it one of my chief labors to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences . . . and how to analyse, and lay out into particulars both the works and word of God, and how to communicate knowledge to others methodically and skillfully, and especially the method of Divinity."

In the second letter written September 4th, 1671 (Mass. Hist. Soc., Proceedings 1879-80, Vol. XVII, p. 248) he goes into detail . . . It is addressed "To the Right Worshipful, the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England," and states that "The Church in Natick having in it sundry young men, who were when I first began children and youths, whom I did catechise and so train up ever since, these now are sundry of them of good parts able to teach. For their further and better fitting for that work, we have set up an exercise of prophesying . . . wherein four of them exercise in one day, and I moderate and order them. Their profiting hereby is very evident to all; it putteth life into them; also I read unto them a lecture in the liberal arts, especially in logic. For their encouragement I provide them some small entertainment of food at such times, especially such as come from other places."

And here let us pause a moment to look back on the activities we have been following. We have seen Eliot as a parish minister, as a public figure in many affairs, as for example his dispute with the governor. These two activities were of course simultaneous. Then we see him as a missionary teaching the Indians, first alone, and then with other ministers and Indian Teachers, and teaching the teachers as he says the art of teaching, all of which went on simultaneously with the other two lines of work we have been speaking of. To all of these three he is now to add

still another time absorbing work. He had learned the Indian tongue as a spoken language. He now determined to translate the Bible. Let it be said again, this task was not to replace those we have just mentioned; instead he went on with the four of them simultaneously.

Consider what it meant, compiling a vocabulary, establishing a grammar, writing a dictionary. In short, Eliot must reduce a spoken to a written language. Then he must translate the Hebrew Scriptures into the newly written language, gather money to print it, see the book through the press — in those days far harder than now; and all the while he must train the Indians to read the written language, persuade them to read the Bible, and finally to distribute it.

He could only have undertaken such a task, especially when he was carrying such heavy burdens, under the conviction that the conversion of the Indians could be accomplished in no other way, and that there was no one but himself to do this work. He was forty-five years old when he began his translations, and they took him twelve years. Preceded by smaller works, the New Testament was printed in 1661, and the Old and New Testaments together in 1663.

There was difficulty about raising the money, not alone for the Bible but for all this Indian work of conversion. There was formed the Society for all this Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England, which still continues under a slightly changed name, and very considerable sums were raised. One authority names eleven thousands pounds. Eliot gave all he had, and all he could collect, and always wanted more. Disbursing the funds wanted a strict accounting, and this Eliot would not, or could not, give.

We must round out the picture with part of a letter. "The Church at Natick," he writes, "is about to dismiss sundry of their numbers to gather into a (new) church . . . forty miles from the Bay . . . in which work I shall be put to great charges. I . . . request that you allow me some-

thing toward the same . . . in all occasions that I have attended in this work, I have never had the least acknowledgement from yourselves, or one penny supply. I am forced now to move (in this matter) because I am fallen into debt . . . I owe £100 at least, for which all the years salary is bound before it come, and more alas and therefore I request you pay this debt of mine."

In a letter of the same date he writes to the Treasurer of the Corporation, "You will see also my requests for help; but they are pleased to answer me with silence, as it is wont to be."

"If my request be refused, then my hands are tied, I can do little; yet I am resolved through the grace of Christ, I will never give over the work so long as I have legs to go." (Ibid, p. 250)

When we contemplate that Eliot, living frugally and giving all he had, was trying to convert whole tribes of primitive Indians to Christianity, we can understand his needs and his impatience about reports. When we turn to the honest gentlemen trying to run a missionary society, we respect their care. These differences had a happy ending. When the Indian Bible was printed there was only praise for Eliot. It was a book of twelve hundred pages. A few of the copies were handsomely bound; all were stoutly bound in leather. Of the better sort, one copy was sent to Charles II, and one to Jesus College, Cambridge, where Eliot had graduated forty-three years before. He inscribed in Latin, "For Jesus College. Accept, mother, I pray, what a most humble alumnus offers, a son ever having thy prayers."

The decade after the appearance of the Bible, which was understood and used among the Indians for a century (Morison), was the harvest time for Eliot's Indian labor. It prospered, slowly it gained. Had time enough been given could it ever have accomplished what Eliot believed it would? We shall never be able to answer the question, yet let us give Eliot and all who nobly worked with him the benefit

of the doubt. We shall never know, because the English and Indian worlds came into deadly and perhaps inevitable conflict.

The English had been pushing the Indians further and further into the wilderness, farther and farther from their ancient hunting grounds and from the shores where they fished. Many Indians feared and resented this growth of the English settlements, and were determined to abolish them. King Philip struck, and war raged in 1675-76. It was the most critical, says Morison, of any among all the wars that have been fought by Massachusetts . . . And the Indians lost.

Eliot's praying Indian stood by the English, and in the later stages fought on their side against the tribes. But none the less the praying Indians were Indians, and in the hysteria of terror the authorities removed about five hundred of them, partly perhaps to protect them from the rougher whites, to Deer Island, where they were left for three years in great misery and want. Eliot was with them on the bank of the Charles River in Cambridge when they were taken to the boats, doing what he could to comfort them. Later on he writes, "I cannot visit them without peril. I have been but twice yet." He went a third time, was recognized by a passing and larger boat which promptly ran him down, and it was with difficulty that he was saved from drowning. The survivors of the war, and of Deer Island privations, were scattered on their return, the praying Indian villages practically abandoned, and the work languished. Yet a second edition of the New Testament in Indian appears in 1680. And in 1681, April 4th, Eliot seventy-seven years old (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. XVII, p. 253*) writes to the Society, "I do daily cry, pray, wait. Lord, open a Gospel door. Until we have Bibles we are not furnished to carry the Gospel unto them, for we have no means to carry religion thither, saving by the Scriptures . . . The Lord put it into your hearts to make a thorough work of

it . . . I commit my cause to God." We cannot read this statement without seeing into John Eliot's heart. At seventy-seven he was beginning his work anew, undaunted. Perhaps partly by this urging the second edition of the Indian Bible was printed in 1685, and widely circulated. How widely its fame had spread is shown by the fact that Pope Clement XI ordered its exclusion from the Indians of South America. This was a superfluous gesture, as no South American could have read the Massachusetts Indian language,—yet the shadow of John Eliot's work fell on the Pope.

Before we turn to Eliot's last years, we ask ourselves what success he had as a translator, and how many Indians were benefitted. J. Hammond Trumbull, great scholar in the Indian languages, says that Eliot's translation "is probably as good as any first version that has been made . . . in a previous unwritten and so-called barbarous language." (Morison, p. 314) Professor Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, the leading authority on Algonquin, assures us that the dialect used by Eliot was understood by the Indians throughout central and eastern Massachusetts, and on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. (Morison, "Builders of the Bay Colony," p. 314) It is figured that there were eleven hundred praying Indians in Massachusetts Colony, and a few hundred more in Plymouth, on the Vineyard and Nantucket, perhaps fifteen hundred in all. Whether or not the very fragmentary accomplishment of Eliot's great plan was worth while as one very important part of a busy ministry, each one of us must decide as he may. I believe that John Eliot left that answer with God.

Eliot's vigorous life continued beyond the second edition of his Bible for five more years. We catch three glimpses of him in his old age. He was helped up this hill in his feebleness, and remarked how the hill was like the Christian life, a steep, rough climb. He says that Mather and Cotton have been in heaven for a number of years, and as he has stayed

so long behind them he fears they may think he has taken the other road. When no longer able to go about, we find him asking his friends to send their negroes to him for instruction. He died in 1690, two hundred and fifty years ago. After the custom of the time friends gathered at his bedside. A young minister prayed, offering a petition that Eliot's life might yet be spared. Eliot directed him to go into another room and continue his prayer, telling him in effect to leave him in peace. His last words still reach this hill made sacred by his ministry, "I been't afraid to die, thank God, I been't afraid to die." Then later, "Welcome joy." At the very last, no doubt in exhortation to those around him, "Pray, pray, pray."

Here in this Meeting House stands his tablet. I beg you to ponder its concluding words, "John Eliot, First of the New England Saints."

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE BOSTON ASSOCIATION OF MINISTERS

By CHRISTOPHER R. ELIOT

The story of the Boston Association of Ministers may be traced with reasonable certainty to the earliest years of the Puritan Settlement.

The earliest reference to ministers' meetings is found in John Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, p. 116 of the 1825 edition, p. 139 in the 1853 edition; and is as follows:

Nov. 1633—"The ministers in the bay and Saugus did meet, once a fortnight, at one of their houses by course, where some question of moment was debated. Mr. Skelton, the pastor of Salem, and Mr. Williams, who was removed from Plimouth thither, (but not in any office, though he exercised by way of prophecy), took some exception against it, as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches' liberties. But this fear was without cause; for they were all clear in that point, that no church or person can have power over another church; neither did they in their meetings exercise any such jurisdiction etc."

In this connection it is interesting to find that Rev. William Emerson, in his History of the First Church of Boston (1812), refers to these meetings as the origin of the Boston Association and to its continued independence as proof that the alarm expressed by Skelton and Williams was indeed groundless. "What they condemn," he (Emerson) writes, "was the origin of the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers, who continue, every second Monday, in the afternoon, to hold a meeting for prayer, theo-

logical discussion, and social intercourse. Yet perhaps there is no place in the world, where independence of individual churches is more perfectly enjoyed, than in this metropolis, and its vicinity."¹

To cover the period between the above reference in Winthrop's Journal (1633) and 1690, when it is certain that a regularly organized Association of Ministers existed, I find nothing except two or three paragraphs in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* ("The Ecclesiastical History of New England"), published in 1702, and a passage in a little book by John Wise, entitled "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused," published in 1715. I quote these passages in full:

In Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* (Vol. I, p. 220, Ed. of 1820) we find the following:

"In the beginning of the country, the ministers had their frequent meetings which were most usually after their publick and weekly or monthly lectures, wherein they consulted for the welfare of their churches; nor had they ordinarily any difficulty in their churches which were not in these meetings offered unto consideration; for their mutual direction and assistance; and these meetings are maintained unto this day." (1702).²

The following is from the same source (Bk. V, p. 58 in the first edition, 1702):

"Having so often produced the Propositions voted by an Assembly of Ministers at Cambridge, for the Explanation of our Platform, 'tis not here amiss, on this occasion to give some History of that Assembly.

"Know then, that according to the advice of Mr. Hooker, who about a week before he fell sick of his last,³

1) History of the First Church, Boston, 1812, pp. 20-21.

2) Cotton Mather became colleague with his father Increase Mather, at the New North Church, in 1684. He was born in 1663.

3) Thomas Hooker, Minister of the churches in Newtown and Hartford, Conn.: "Father of American Democracy," cf. John Fiske's "The Beginnings of New England," p. 127. Hooker died in 1647.

let fall these words: 'We must agree upon certain Meetings of Ministers, and settle the Consociation of Churches, or else we are utterly undone!' It has been the care of the ministers, in the several Vicinages throughout the most part of the country, to establish such constant meetings, whereat they have informed one another of their various Exercises, and assisted one another in the work of the Lord: besides a general Appearance of all the Ministers in Each Colony, once a Year, at the Town and the Time of the General Court for Elections of Magistrates in the Colonies. These meetings have not all obliged themselves to one method of Proceeding, in pursuing of Mutual Edification; some do still Fast and Pray together, and speak in their turn to a Proposed Subject, much after the manner of the Great Grindal's lectures: Others do, only after the publick Lectures, then held in the congregation of that Pastor to whose House they adjourn, confer awhile together upon matters of concernment: but one of the Meetings is regulated by the following orders:"

Note: Then follow rules and regulations adopted by certain Ministers of Boston and Charlestown and neighboring Towns in 1690, to which reference will be made in detail later.

So much for Cotton Mather. The following paragraph is from "The Churches Quarrel Espoused" by John Wise, 1710-15. This little book was an answer, vigorous and highly controversial, to a growing demand for Ministers Associations, which should exercise advisory power and a very considerable influence over their respective members and churches, and for the **Consociation** of all these by a system of delegates, and by an Annual Meeting, and by a Standing Council, to "Inquire into the Conditions of the Churches, and Advise such things as may be for the advantage of our holy Religion." Safeguards of liberty were to be provided, but on the whole it was distinctly a drawing together (in

organization) which some regarded as most dangerous. Of these John Wise was the Spokesman and his book ("The Churches Quarrel Espoused") was the outstanding expression of their protest. One is reminded of Skelton's and Williams's alarm, seventy-five years earlier. John Wise wrote the following:

"About thirty years ago [1680] more or less, there was no appearance of the Association of Pastors in these Colonies, and in some Parts and Places, there is none yet. But after the Country had suffered much in the slaughters and depredations committed by the Heathen, and by many other Afflictions, the Neighboring Ministers in some Counties, met to Pray together, &c., and for no other intent, that I ever knew or heard of. But after they had continued their Meetings for some years, and others following the example, began to converse together, and communicate Cases, as best suited each Person; and, at last perceiving that they were almost gotten into a Classical Form, before they tho't of it, they began to give their Meetings the specious Titles of Classes, Associations, and Ecclesiastical Conventions, &c., as securely as though these Titles were a Fruit growing out of our own Constitution; and by degrees to dream that they were really, and, de Jure, what their new Titles and late custom had made them only de Facto; and time increased their inclinations and purposes to compass a more formal and compleat Settlement." — (Ed. 1715, p. 79)

Now the significance of these quotations from Winthrop's Journal, 1633, Thomas Hooker, 1647, from Cotton Mather, writing at the end of the 17th century (published 1702), and from John Wise, writing ten years later, is this, that they make it fairly probable at least, **First**, that there were frequent if not "constant" meetings of ministers during the fifty-seven years, between 1633 and 1690, "whereat they have informed one another of their various exercises and

assisted one another in the work of the Lord," and that these meetings very often followed the Publick Lectures, which we know were held regularly every Thursday, from 1630 on, and at the house of the Minister who had given the Lecture: and **Second**, that these meetings were informal, i.e. without regular organization, though tending, towards the end of the century, as the quotation from Wise clearly indicates, in that direction.

This conclusion is an inference, to be sure, but one which seems fairly reasonable. We know as a fact that the Thursday Lectures were maintained with great regularity and were considered of great importance. We know how vitally interested and how deeply implicated and influential, the leading ministers were, not only in ecclesiastical questions, but in the political and social problems of those critical years, when problems of government and of religious liberty, freedom of speech and assembly, were being tested and contested. It is inconceivable that the ministers did not follow the custom of meeting after the Publick Lectures for discussion and mutual assistance.

Winthrop tells us that such meetings were being held from 1633. Mather was referring, doubtless, not merely to recent events, e. g., the 1690 Association and others following, but to earlier meetings, and his reference to Thos. Hooker's advice suggests these.¹

II

We now come to the second period in the story of our Association and at once find ourselves on historic ground.

In the year 1690, the ministers of Boston and Charlestown and neighboring towns, were definitely associated and organized under the leadership of Rev. Charles Morton, the minister of the Charlestown Church; and in the library of

¹) See Williston Walker's "The Congregational Churches" (1894) in which he refers to the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, still extant, as having begun in the informal coming together of ministers in the earliest days of the Colony." This Convention was well organized by 1680.

the Massachusetts Historical Society there is a little leather-covered manuscript record-book (about six inches by four) which tells the story.

Charles Morton came to New England in 1686. He had been a well-known minister in England. He was a graduate of Wadham College, Oxford; rector of Blissland, Cornwall, from which Parish he was ejected because of radical tendencies; then became a teacher of "academical learning" at Newington Green, near London, which work he continued for 20 years. He came to this country (in 1686), invited, it is said, to become President of Harvard College; which appointment, however, never came about, possibly because of his English reputation as a radical. He became, however, the minister of the church in Charlestown, and for a while continued his "academical teaching," desisting, however, somewhat later, because of the uneasiness it caused.

Now Morton had been the Moderator of an Association of Ministers organized at Bodwin, Cornwall, on September 11, 1655, and he brought with him the Records of the Association running from that date to May 4, 1659, when, probably on account of the political and ecclesiastical upheavals in England at that time (it was just before the restoration of Charles the Second) the Association was broken up. It is this little book, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society's library, which Morton again used, for the Boston and Charlestown Association, when he had organized that in 1690.

It is in Morton's handwriting and the first pages, beginning Sept. 11, 1655, contain the following five articles of agreement, with the signatures of the twenty-six English members, among whom it is interesting to find such names as Thomas Hancock, Sam May, and, of course, that of Morton himself:

Cornwall, at Bodwin, the 11th of
September, 1655

- Art. I: That we do associate ourselves for promoting the gospel & our mutual assistance and furtherance in that great work, in order thereunto,
1. That we meet constantly at Bodwin on every first Wednesday in the month, and oftener, if need be,—
 2. In such meetings one shall be chosen moderator, pro tempore, for the more order and decency of our proceedings; which moderator is to be chosen at end of every meeting.
 3. His employment shall be to begin with prayer—to propose matters to be debated—to receive the suffrages of the brethren & new members—keep the papers, etc.
 4. That we shall submit to the counsel, reproofs & censures of the brethren so associated & assembled in all things in the Lord (Eph. 5, 21).
 5. That no one of us shall relinquish the Association nor forsake the appointed assemblies without giving sufficient reason for the same.

The records of the meetings are few and brief. Morton was the first Moderator. On Sept. 3d, 1656, it was agreed that Wednesday, Sept. 17 be set apart for “a begging a blessing on ye great affayers of the nation.” Minutes are made of the examination of certain candidates for ordination; of supplying assistance in destitute places, and for giving advice and arranging debates. A long list of rules for the Association was adopted later; and the Records end abruptly on May 4, 1659, with the announcement of another meeting to be held in July; of which, however, no record appears.

It was upon this model that Morton proceeded to organize the ministers of Boston and Charlestown, and the records were kept in the same book. The first entry for the new Association is of Oct. 13, 1690, and is in Morton's handwriting. It gives the articles of agreement, which were like those of the Association of Bodwin, but with some additions.

The record of Oct. 13, 1690, is as follows:

At Charlestown, in New England
October 13, 1690.

It is agreed by us whose names are underwritten that we do associate ourselves for the promoting of the Gospel and our Mutual Assistance & furtherance in that great Work.

In order thereunto

1. That we meet constantly at the College, in Cambridge, on a Munday at Nine or ten of the Clock in the morning, once in Six weeks or oftener If need shall be.
2. That in Such Meetings one shall be chosen Moderator pro Tempore for the better order and Decency of our proceedings, which Moderator is to be chosen at the end of every meeting.
3. That the Moderator's work be
 1. To end the Meeting wherein he is Chosen & to begin the next with prayer.
 2. To propose matters to be debated, & receive the suffrages of the Brethren. To Receive by consent of the Brethren the subscriptions of such as shall joyne with us: And keep all papers belonging to the Association. To give & Receive notices & appoynt meetings upon emergent occasions.
4. That we shall submit to the Counsels, Reproofs & Censures of the Brethren so Associated & Assembled in all things in the Lord (Eph: 5, 21).
5. That not one of us shall Relinquish this Association,

nor forsake the Associated Meetings without giving sufficient Reason for the same.

6. That our Work in the sayd meeting shall be 1. To Debate any Matter Referring to ourselves. 2. To hear & and Consider any Cases wh. shall be proposed to us from Churches, or private persons. 3. To answer any Letters Directed to us from any other Associations or persons. 4. To Discours of any Question proposed at the former Meeting.

Then follows the list of members: all well known New England ministers.

Charles Morton	Jabez Fox
James Allen	James Sherman
Michael Wigglesworth	J. Mather
Joshua Moody	Benj. Woodbridge
Sam ^l Wilard	Benj. Colman
John Bailey	Sam. Angier
Nathl Gookin	Henry Gibbs
Cotton Mather	Benj. Wadsworth
Nehemiah Walter	Wm. Brattle
Jonathan Pierpont	Eben ^r . Pemberton
Tho. Bridge	

Charles Morton was the first Moderator, appointed at the first regular meeting, on Oct. 20. He died on April 11, 1698, aged 72. The last meeting recorded was that of Sept. 6, 1703. The records are in the writing of Morton, Increase & Cotton Mather. Many interesting questions were propounded, relating to the better execution of laws against vice, or touching upon moral reforms, but dealing for the most part with pastoral duties, ecclesiastical affairs, or curious speculations of the time. One question was, "How the College might be made greater & better." This was introduced by Morton himself. Others were:

- a. By what rules our churches ought to proceed in bringing their adult children unto a full enjoyment of ordinances & privileges with them.

- b. The Reformation of provoking evils & the recovery of practical religion in our hearts & lives.
- c. The Power of Synods with respect to particular churches — and with this conclusion, “not to abate, much less to destroy, the liberties of particular churches, but to strengthen & direct etc.”
- d. Whether no persons may be admitted to baptism but such as are members of a particular church? This was decided in the negative.
- e. Discipline in our churches ought to be extended to our children.
- f. When shall divorce be granted?
- g. What power have the Elders in the government of the churches?
- h. Shall the imposition of hands in ordination be retained? A part of the argument ran thus: “The Bible says ‘Lay hands suddenly on no man’ but this implies that hands are to be laid on some. Now when & where but in Ordination?”
- i. Choosing a pastor; a Minister’s call; under what conditions may a minister lay down his ministry? A minister’s duty to enquire into scandals in his church & how far should he keep confessions secret? Whether any self-killing be lawful?
- j. Whether angelical visits by visible appearance, to the people of God, in these days, are wholly ceased? Or if not ceased, what are the marks whereby we may distinguish them from Diabolical?
- k. Whether to use the words of the Lord’s Prayer as a printed form of prayer in the public worship of God be a practice to be countenanced.¹

Strangely enough these records cover only thirteen

¹)For reprint of the entire records, see Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. XVII, pp. 254-280.

years, from 1690 to 1703, with a few notes added in 1704 by Samuel Willard, then Moderator. The Association evidently held an important place among the ministers and is undoubtedly the one referred to by Mather in his *Magnalia*, where he gives in full the Articles of Agreement—"Orders" as he calls them — just as they appear in Morton's record of 1690. This leaves us, however, another gap of fifty-one years, i. e. between 1704 and 1755, without records. If Records were kept, they cannot be found. There is no reason to suppose that the Association was given up. Indeed, there is nothing for the historian to do except to take it for granted that the Association continued more or less regularly or irregularly and that the Records have been lost, and then to enquire whether there are any traces of its existence and of its activities to be discovered in contemporary history and documents. Along these lines I have been able to do a little, but not as much as one would like.

In the first place we do know that the movement towards Ministerial Associations was going on actively between 1690 and 1715 when the demand for **consociation**, so vigorously opposed by John Wise and others, took shape.

In Dexter's "History of Congregationalism, as seen in its Literature," the story is told (pp. 488-506) and from that I glean the following:

It was all a part of the demand for stricter discipline and the tightening-up process that had been gathering power for years, namely to counteract the freedom which the "halfway covenant"¹ was bringing into the church, the laxness and independence of the churches "in ignoring the use and often the advice of councils", or in "employing unsuitable persons in pulpit service," and in general the lowering of moral standards as to "Idleness, unnecessary frequenting of Houses of public Entertainment, irreverent Behavior in Public Worship, Neglect of Family-Prayer, Pro-

1) "The Congregationalists," by Williston Walker, p. 179.

mise-breaking, & walking with Slanderers & Reproachers of others," and especially in the too easy and careless admittance of unregenerate persons into the membership & Communion of the Churches.

Endeavoring to meet this laxity, the Synod at Saybrook, Conn., was called by the General Court on Sept. 9-20, 1708.

It established Associations of Ministers, to meet twice a year, with four functions: 1. To consult as to ministerial duty; 2. to consider the common interests of the churches; 3. to resolve questions and cases of importance; 4. to examine and recommend candidates for the ministry. They were to refer cases of ministerial heresy or scandal to a Council. They might advise churches as to settling pastors; and they were to meet annually in a General Association.

All of this was accepted by the **General Court of Connecticut** and then "imposed" by the state upon the Colony as the religion of the State, to the exclusion and disownment of any who might persist in the ancient Congregational way.¹

In Massachusetts, in the year 1705, the movement was different, yet similar. I quote from Dexter, as follows:

"Among Ass^{ns}. of ministers wh. had sprung up, that at Boston was, presumably, by far the most influential. On Thursday, 13-24 Sept., 1705, this Assⁿ. assembled, by former agreement, and adopted certain **proposals** which on the 5-16 Nov. following, it publicly commended 'to the due consiⁿ. of the several Ass^d. Ministers in the several parts of the Country, to be duly considered, that so, what may be judged for the service of Our Great Lord, and his Holy churches, may be further proceeded in.'" — Dexter, p. 492.

The proposals were 16 in number and, as Dexter adds, were "very strong Presbyterian meat for Congregational palates; and some insisted that it had a most offensive pre-

1) "History of Congregationalism," by Henry M. Dexter, pp. 491-2

let fall these words: 'We must agree upon certain Meetings of Ministers, and settle the Consociation of Churches, or else we are utterly undone!' It has been the care of the ministers, in the several Vicinages throughout the most part of the country, to establish such constant meetings, whereat they have informed one another of their various Exercises, and assisted one another in the work of the Lord: besides a general Appearance of all the Ministers in Each Colony, once a Year, at the Town and the Time of the General Court for Elections of Magistrates in the Colonies. These meetings have not all obliged themselves to one method of Proceeding, in pursuing of Mutual Edification; some do still Fast and Pray together, and speak in their turn to a Proposed Subject, much after the manner of the Great Grindal's lectures: Others do, only after the publick Lectures, then held in the congregation of that Pastor to whose House they adjourn, confer awhile together upon matters of concernment: but one of the Meetings is regulated by the following orders:"

Note: Then follow rules and regulations adopted by certain Ministers of Boston and Charlestown and neighboring Towns in 1690, to which reference will be made in detail later.

So much for Cotton Mather. The following paragraph is from "The Churches Quarrel Espoused" by John Wise, 1710-15. This little book was an answer, vigorous and highly controversial, to a growing demand for Ministers Associations, which should exercise advisory power and a very considerable influence over their respective members and churches, and for the **Consociation** of all these by a system of delegates, and by an Annual Meeting, and by a Standing Council, to "Inquire into the Conditions of the Churches, and Advise such things as may be for the advantage of our holy Religion." Safeguards of liberty were to be provided, but on the whole it was distinctly a drawing together (in

it, the House did not, and the Synod was not held.

"The days of Synods after the ancient way were over," writes Dexter. The demand was "in favor of democracy as the best gov't." It may well be that Ministers Associations may have lost something in prestige about this time, and perhaps our Boston Association met less often; and perhaps no record was kept. In 1738, Samuel Mather, son of Cotton Mather, wrote as follows:

"Let them (the churches) never blindly resign themselves to the Direction of their ministers; but consider themselves, as Men, as Christians, as Protestants, obliged to judge & act for themselves in all the weighty concerns of Religion."

Very soon after this came the period of the "Great Awakening," 1734-1742, with the excitement and controversies caused by the preaching of Whitefield, Davenport and others.

Ministers Associations may have been somewhat eclipsed. However that may be, that they continued to exist is made evident by the following items, which I glean from a volume entitled "The Great Awakening," written by Joseph Tracy, in 1841.

In this book there is an account of a solemn declaration issued by the Boston and Charlestown Association of Ministers in regard to the Rev. James Davenport, an itinerant preacher, inspired by Whitefield, and of whose conduct (and the disorders resulting therefrom) they strongly disapproved. It was issued the first of July, 1742, and its opening words are significant: "We, the Associated Ministers of Boston and Charlestown, in the Province of Mass^{tts} Bay, in New England, being assembled in **our stated course of meeting**, June 28, . . . judge it therefore to be our duty, not to invite him (Davenport) into our places of publick worship . . . so that we may not appear to give countenance to the forementioned errors and disorders." "The Great Awakening," p. 242-3.

This Declaration was signed by fourteen ministers and the phrase, "our stated course of meeting" suggests at least a well established and continuing organization and one of recognized standing in the community. Those signing were Benjamin Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, Samuel Checkley, William Welsted, Joshua Gee, Mather Byles, Ellis Gray and Andrew Eliot of Boston, and by Hull Abbot and Thomas Prentice of Charlestown.

On Dec. 26, 1744, a Testimonial against "itinerants and exhorters" was drawn up and sent to the **Associated Ministers of Boston and Charlestown** by two neighboring associations of ministers in the country, relating specifically to the question of admitting Mr. Whitefield into their Pulpits. In January, 1745, another Association met in **Cambridge**, and faced the question, raised by one of its members, Rev. Mr. Appleton, as to his inviting Mr. Whitefield to preach in Cambridge. In answer to this enquiry, it was unanimously voted by the Cambridge Association "That it is not advisable, under the present situation of things, that the Rev^d. Mr. Appleton invite the Rev.^d Mr. Whitefield to preach in Cambridge" and "accordingly they declared, each of them for themselves respectively, that they would not invite the said gentleman into their pulpits." At this meeting there were present: the Rev. Messrs. John Hancock, of Lexington; William Williams, of Weston; John Cotton, of Newton; Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge; Warham Williams, of Waltham; Seth Storer, of Watertown; Ebenezer Turell, of Medford; Nicholas Bowes, of Bedford; and Samuel Cook, of Cambridge. (The Great Awakening, p. 346)

I submit these Testimonials and votes by the Boston and Charlestown Association, by the Cambridge Association, and by the other two "in the country" as good evidence that they were much alive, and especially our Boston Association, at the time of the Great Awakening, (1734-42.) The Association in Weymouth also issued "Sentiments and a Reso-

lution," Jan. 15, 1745. We may wonder at their lack of tolerance and hospitality, but, if so, it is well to recall the fact that the Faculty of Harvard College had taken similar action on Dec. 28, 1744, and issued a protest against Whitefield as an **enthusiast**, as an **itinerant** preacher, and as one responsible for grave disorders. This was signed by the President and the whole Faculty.

We may well wonder what became of the Boston and Cambridge Record Books, if such were kept, but we must accept this evidence of the continued activity of these Associations. Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, said in 1672 that he remembered such meetings in his childhood.

I have only one other bit of evidence to add.

I refer to a Congregational Meeting, interesting in itself, but especially for item 4, held at the Church in Brattle Square, Boston. From the Church Records of which I quote as follows:

A Cong^l Meeting was held on Mar. 25, 1746 to consider "ye ordination of Mr. Samuel Cooper ye Pastor Elect."; and "after more than an hours Debate," it was voted:

1. To proceed with the ordination on May 21.
2. To appoint Rev. Pastor Dr. Colman or Rev. Dr. Sewal "to preside, pray & give ye charge, with ye imposition of ye Hands of ye Presbytery."
3. To make necessary provision for "ye Entertainment of ye Council of Churches when convened on this great Occasion.
4. That the **Rev.^d Ass.^d Pastors of Boston & Charlestown** with ye Churches under their care, & ye **Rev.^d & Hon.^d Church of Christ in Cambridge** under ye Pastoral Care of **Rev.^d Mr. Appleton**, be timely wrote to, & their Presence & Assistance by their Elders & messengers be desired on this Occasion.

5. To collect "300 pounds for the expenses of ye proposed Ordination."

On April 6, Mr. Cooper gave, in a sermon, a Confession of his Faith, "to the general satisfaction of the Audience."

The Cong.ⁿ gave "most freely and abundantly for ye Defray of the Ordination Provisions &c; & on ye 21 of May ye Solemn Day of ye Seperation of Mr. Cooper to ye Work of ye Ministry in a great & Rev.^d Assembly, Mr. Webb pray^d, I preached from Isai. VI, 8; Dr. Sewal gave the Charge & Mr. Prince the right Hand of Fellowship: & there seem'd much of the Presence of God with us:

The Lord's Day following, May 25, Mr. Cooper administered ye Ordinances of Baptism, & that Day seven-night ye Ordinance of ye Lord's Supper."

"And I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send and who will go for us? Then said I, Here am I, send me." Isa. VI, 8.

In conclusion: What have we learned from this Study of the early Ministerial Associations?

1. That Ministers Meetings were held frequently as early as 1633, if not before.
2. That such meetings probably continued, but irregularly and without definite organization, often in connection with or following the Thursday Lectures, until 1690.
3. That the Ministers of Charlestown, Boston and neighboring Towns were organized by Charles Morton in October 1690 to meet in the College at Cambridge.
4. That soon after that other similar Associations were organized. There were five at least by 1708.
(Williston Walker, p. 201-24.)
5. That sometime between 1700 and 1745, the large group organized by Morton was divided into the

“Associated Ministers of Boston and Charlestown” and the Association in and about Cambridge.”

6. That while there are no “Records” of the Cambridge Association until 1809, and none extant for the Boston Association between 1704 and 1755, there is evidence that both these Associations held meetings and were more or less active, during this period.
7. That the Boston Association, and also the Cambridge Association may each claim origin from those earliest meetings referred to by John Winthrop as frequent in 1633; and that the Associations of our Sister Congregational Churches in Boston, the Suffolk North and the Suffolk South, formed in 1822 and 1829, because the Boston and Cambridge Ass^{ns} refused to join a General Union or Assⁿ, may with equal right trace their origin to the same source.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1940

The Fortieth Annual Meeting of the Unitarian Historical Society was held in King's Chapel, on Tuesday, May 21, 1940, at 10 o'clock, the President, Rev. Dr. Christopher R. Eliot presiding.

The record of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting was read and approved.

The Treasurer, Mr. Harrie H. Dadmun, was unavoidably absent, but Mr. Gorham Dana, the auditor read the Treasurer's report which was approved. The receipts, including the balance on hand at the beginning of the year, amounted to \$159.51, and the expenditures consisting of \$13.59 for postage, \$130.00 for printing, and \$3.53 for space in the Anniversary Week program, amounted to \$147.12, leaving a balance on hand of \$12.39. Mr. Dana, as auditor, attested the Treasurer's report as correct. The sum of \$500.00 in the Life Membership Fund is on deposit at the Cambridge Savings Bank.

The Librarian's report was read and accepted. Miss Gardner mentioned the formation of an Advisory Committee consisting of Dr. Christopher R. Eliot, Dr. Everett M. Baker, Dr. Henry W. Foote, Rev. Robert D. Richardson and Dr. Frederick L. Weis. Members of this committee in rotation assist the Librarian in matters requiring consultation or advice. Not only has Miss Gardner catalogued new books received, filed clippings, calendars and general church material, but her presence in the building throughout the week has made the Library available to more persons. About one hundred people, a large proportion of whom have been students from nearby universities, have visited the Library for purposes of research. Nearly 350 books have been presented to the Library during the year, many of them very valuable additions to our collection, together with numerous pamphlets of an historical nature and pictures of churches and ministers.

Dr. Eliot reported for the Publication Committee, calling attention to the present number of the Proceedings.

The Nominating Committee, Henry R. Scott, chairman, John G. Greene, and Rev. Richard A. Day, submitted the following names of persons, who were duly elected to their respective offices:

Rev. Christopher R. Eliot, LL. D., President
Rev. Charles E. Park, D. D., Vice President
Rev. Earl M. Wilbur, D. D., Hon. Vice President
Rev. Henry W. Foote, D. D., Hon. Vice President
Rev. Frederick L. Weis, Th. D., Secretary
Harrie H. Dadmun, Esq., Treasurer
Miss Edith F. Gardner, Librarian

and the following Directors for Three Years:

Rev. Dan Huntington Fenn	1940-1943
Miss Helen W. Greenwood	1940-1943

Mr. Gorham Dana was reelected auditor and the following Nominating Committee for 1941, was elected:

Rev. William Channing Brown
Rev. Harold Greene Arnold
Stephen Phillips, Esq.

Dr. Foote reported that Dr. Wilbur's first volume of the History of Unitarianism is nearing completion. It is based upon original research in Poland and other European countries and contains unique material gathered from many rare works and unpublished manuscript sources in Latin, Polish, Hungarian and other languages. Photostats of much of this rare material were collected by Dr. Wilbur. Because of the systematic destruction of documentary and other evidences of Polish culture and history by the Nazis, it is highly probable that Dr. Wilbur has now unique copies of many priceless historical documents recently destroyed in the conquest of Poland.

This Society takes an especial interest in Dr. Wilbur's monumental work — which, when completed, will be the standard history of liberal religion.

At last available information, the Socinus Monument had not been destroyed or injured. But Dr. Wilbur was much concerned about the fate of many Polish professors who had aided him in his researches.

Rev. George L. Thompson then declared that the present space allotted to the Library would soon be inadequate and he stressed the idea that it is important to create an interest in larger quarters — perhaps even a Library building. Miss Johnson suggested the use of Number 16 Beacon Street for such a purpose.

Dr. Christopher R. Eliot then spoke of the work of the Library Committee of the American Unitarian Association already mentioned. The Library Committee of the Unitarian Historical Society consists of the same members except Dr. Baker.

The President then spoke of the English society of which Miss Holt is the Honorable Secretary and he referred to the very valuable volume of Transactions which this society had recently received.

The President read a letter from Mrs. Sarah Hooper dated February 19th 1901 referring to the first meeting of this society mentioning among other things the names of many persons present at this organization meeting. The number consisted of about thirty clergymen and laymen and four women. Among them may be mentioned Rev. Messrs. Bartol, Shippen, Jaynes, Christopher Eliot, and Messrs. Flint, Green, Swan, Edes and Capen. Mrs. Green, Miss Clark, Miss Winslow and Mrs. Hooper were the four ladies present. Dr. Cornish was chosen to "collect records." Henry Edes was chosen President and Dr. John C. Perkins, Secretary.

Dr. Cornish then gave the paper of the morning.

The meeting adjourned at noon.

Respectfully submitted,
FREDERICK L. WEIS,
Secretary

EDITORIAL NOTES

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 2, London, W. C. Anne Holt, Editor.

This number of the "Transactions" is of special interest, coming as it does out of the center of stricken London. As was to be expected, there are few references to the war. The Society was founded in war time, 1915, and has been continued, "a venture of faith," successfully ever since, and now is carrying on "quietly and effectively." We are glad to read that "so far, war conditions have had little adverse effect on the Society."

It is interesting that a bibliography of books on Unitarian history is to be compiled under the auspices of the Society. Rev. R. V. Holt, president of the Society will do the preliminary work, and it is hoped that the Hibbert Trustees will aid in the publication. Another project is "a revision of dates given for the foundation of Churches and Chapels in the Year Book of the General Assembly, and this will require changes for almost 150 congregations."

One of the articles in this number of the Transactions, of interest to our American Unitarians, is on the "Origins of the Essex Church, Notting Hill Gate, London." This "Free Christian Church" was started in 1867 in a room in Newton House, Church Lane, "where Sir Isaac Newton had lived and died." Its first minister was Rev. William Henry Channing, the distinguished nephew of Dr. William Ellery Channing. In 1868, the congregation moved to a section of London known as "the Village of Kensington Gravel Pits." At the service, Sir John Bowring, Rev. John James Taylor, Dr. James Martineau, Moncure Conway and Henry W. Bellows were present. In 1874, land was secured and a building long known as "The Iron Church," was erected. This was demolished in 1885 for a new building, to be known as Essex Chapel, and later as Essex Church. It stands "in the Mall, now Palace Gardens Terrace." In front of the manse stands the "Boy Monument in memory of all the founders of Sunday Schools."

On the inside of the cover of "Transactions" is the following item concerning the annual meetings of the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, for 1941:

"At the present time (October 1940) owing to enemy action in London and elsewhere, it is hardly possible to make any announcement covering the place and date of the Annual Meetings of the General Assembly next year. The Council will make and announce such arrangements as prove possible at a later date." Mortimer Rowe, Secretary.

Three books of special historical or Biblical interest have been received for the Library:

Joseph Tuckerman, Pioneer in American Social Work, by Daniel T. McColgan, a priest of the Archdiocese of Boston, published by the Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C. This is a volume of 437 pages, including full bibliography, notes, appendices and index, of 100 pages.

Three Centuries of American Hymnody, by Henry Wilder Foote.

Harper's Bible Concordance, by Charles R. Joy.

The Five Interpretations of Jesus, by A. M. Rihbany.

Any of these may be ordered through the American Unitarian Association.

The Unitarian Library: It may be of interest to the members of the Unitarian Historical Society to learn something about the kind of service the Historical Library performs for the Fellowship. The inquiries that come to us from visitors and in the mail cover quite a large field.

Dr. Charles E. Snyder of Davenport, Iowa, has recently written a very thorough-going dissertation entitled "Unitarianism in Iowa a Hundred Years Ago." This altogether delightful study follows the course of Unitarianism in Burlington, Iowa, from 1840 to 1911, together with its interrelations with other denominations in the town. Dr. Snyder has made a note of the assistance which he received from our Library.

Professor Nelson R. Burr, Ph.D., Assistant State Supervisor of the Historical Records Survey, has just completed a treatise "An Inventory of Unitarian Church Records in Connecticut." This is a most comprehensive and scholarly piece of work and covers not only the situation past and present in Connecticut, but also a brief sketch of Unitarianism in general, a description of Headquarters, and of the resources of the Historical Library. It is a valuable contribution to denominational history. Dr. Burr has expressed thanks for the assistance given by the Library.

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Unitarian Church in Ithaca, N. Y., Rev. Abbot Peterson, Jr., made an exhibit of historical interest, to which we were able to contribute a number of photographs. He wrote recently that the exhibit has aroused tremendous interest in the community and justified the work he had put into it. He will send to the library a complete file of the publicity regarding this occasion.

The wife of the minister of our church in Toronto, Ontario, was making a collection of pictures of former ministers, and asked if we had a picture of the Rev. C. H. A. Dall, who served that church soon after his ordination, and was later very prominent in the denomination for his missionary work in India. We had a really charming picture of Mr. Dall, an enlarged copy of which we sent to Mrs. Hodgins.

Aside from Dr. Henry Wilder Foote's collection of hymnbooks, there were in our library a great number of hymnbooks, prayer books and books of devotion which had not been arranged and therefore were not very available for purposes of study. These have now been classified and put in chronological order. Immediately after this had been done an inquiry came in regard to translations of German hymns, and it was most helpful to know exactly what the library had to offer in this field.

The centenary of Dr. Hosmer inspired a number of ministers to preach of his life and his great contribution to hymnology, and the almost exhaustive collection of material in our files was used very extensively.

Every day brings inquiries concerning ministers living or dead, and churches, active or inactive, Unitarian laymen and laywomen, with requests for material for radio talks. Photographs are in constant demand for a variety of purposes; students come in who are studying Unitarian work in foreign countries, to consult old magazines, church covenants, the records of the Free Religious Association, to mention only a few. Workers on the Work Project Administration are amassing an amount of data in the library which will eventually be of immense value to the denomination at large.

The library has recently been rearranged, and it is hoped that an increasing number of visitors will find it a pleasant place in which to study and discuss their research problems.

EDITH GARDNER, Librarian

For list of Annual Addresses, see "Proceedings" Vol. VI, Part II.

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 + Albert H. Wiggin, New York City.

The Proceedings
of the
Unitarian Historical Society

VOLUME VII

PART II

THE UNITARIAN SPRING AT BROOK FARM
HAROLD GREENE ARNOLD

EARLY RECORDS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHURCHES
IN MASSACHUSETTS WHICH BECAME UNITARIAN

ANNUAL MEETING
EDITORIAL NOTES

1941

25 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

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The Proceedings
of the
Unitarian Historical Society

VOLUME VII
PART II

1941

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The Unitarian Historical Society

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Mr. John Gardner Greene, of Boston	1941-44
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Miss Helen W. Greenwood, of Leominster	1940-43
Rev. Charles Graves, of Wethersfield, Conn.	1939-42
Rev. Charles H. Lyttle, Th.D., of Chicago	1939-42

The Unitarian Historical Society was founded in 1901. Its first president was the late Henry H. Edes of Boston, who served from 1901 to 1919, followed by Rev. Henry W. Foote, D.D., 1919-1930, and Rev. Christopher R. Eliot, LL.D., 1930 to 1941. The purpose of the Society is to collect and preserve books, pamphlets, manuscripts, pictures and memorabilia which describe and illustrate the history of the Unitarian movement; to stimulate an interest in the preservation of the records of Unitarian churches; and to publish monographs and other material dealing with the history of individual churches, or the Unitarian movement as a whole.

The Society welcomes to its membership all who are in sympathy with its aims and work. Persons desiring to join will send the membership fee, with their names and addresses, to the Treasurer, or \$50.00 for life membership. Each member receives a copy of the Proceedings. About 125 copies are sent to Libraries.

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MORE MEMBERS NEEDED

To function most efficiently, the Unitarian Historical Society should be double its present membership. We urge all who are in sympathy with our aims and purposes to join the Society.

Membership is Two Dollars annually.

Life Membership, Fifty Dollars.

Address the Unitarian Historical Society,

25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

AN ENDOWMENT FUND IS ALSO NEEDED

An endowment fund of Twenty Thousand Dollars is needed by the Unitarian Historical Society. Of this, two thousand dollars is already in sight. The American Unitarian Association will act as Trustee of the Fund and the interest will be used by the Society for current expenses.

We appeal to our present members and to Unitarians who believe that history means not only gratitude for the past but inspiration for the present and future.

FREDERICK L. WEIS, President

ROBERT D. RICHARDSON, Secretary

HARRIE H. DADMUN, Treasurer

The Unitarian Spring At Brook Farm

*An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Unitarian
Historical Society in King's Chapel, Boston,
On Tuesday, May 20, 1941*

It was just a hundred years ago this spring in April, 1841, when the streams out yonder in the fields of this New England countryside of ours were full and flowing freely that the Rev. George Ripley and his wife, Sophia, together with a little group of friends, not more than some fifteen in all, went out from what they felt to be the cramping confines and restrictions of the city to a farm which they had known of and were soon to buy in the neighboring town of West Roxbury, among the meadows of the River Charles. It was about nine miles from here. They wished to plant a bit of Paradise there in that green and pleasant land or to discover and endeavor to create a better country, if they could — a land of brooks of water, as it were, to use a scripture phrase; that is a happier, more wholesome order of society and type of human life, one that was more natural and transcendental, too, at the same time, thus giving rise to that romantic, idealistic movement or community of hopeful dream which although it was of brief duration has yet stirred forever since the imagination of idealists, the interests of thoughtful people, and with which we of the Unitarian Historical Society may well have, I submit, a rather special and responsible concern. For although it was in no sense a sectarian, denominational affair, controlled by and organically connected with our churches of that name (in fact quite otherwise) yet in the fundamental underlying spirit of such did it largely find its origin and genesis. From such sources did it take its rise, both in respect to personnel and motivating principles. At any rate that is my thesis. There lies the primal spring from which Brook Farm then flowed, though there were other influential tributaries, to be sure. It is, then, perhaps not altogether inappropriate that

you today should take initiatory lead in the recollection and commemoration of that winsome, noteworthy experiment a century ago although I trust it may also receive a far more wide-spread and extensive recognition during this present year in other places, too.

The intriguing story in its outline and main features is, I presume, more or less familiar to you all but if by any chance it be not so, let me refer you to the several descriptive books wherein the picture is delightfully portrayed, such as Lindsay Swift's authoritative volume or the Recollections by John Codman and by Georgiana Kirby, both of these raconteurs having been in the days of their youth enthusiastic members there. A fascinating picture is also given of the scene, as well as documentary evidence supplied, as to the spirit that then sparkled there by the collection of private letters that have been more recently published, though they were written at the very time and place, by Marianna Dwight to a young girl intimate friend and bosom friend in Boston. These provide an actual exhibit, as it were, of the experience that she underwent. Another group of letters that has also lately come to light is revealing of the life there. It has been described in a leaflet issued by the Boston Public Library entitled, "The Idyll of Brook Farm." A book called the Paradise Planters telling the story in a narrative, somewhat fictitious form, has also recently been published. This latter is marred by a number of careless, inaccurate statements and is, to my mind, a rather prejudiced approach to or misinterpretation of the facts as indicated by such solecisms as "Unitarian Ministers taking Holy Orders" and "George Ripley having been the rector of the Purchase Street Church" and the like. Of late there has been a freshet of new biographies or re-editions of journals and letters dealing with individuals of the time such as VanWyck Brook's stimulating volumes on the Flowering and the Indian Summer of New England and the like which make reference to this place. The most familiar among the early references to the project are probably to be found in the American Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne which contain a number of pertinent and sometimes caustic comments which have been frequently quoted such as that to Margaret Fuller's Transcendentalist heifer

which wore a reflective countenance although she was of a fractious disposition. Moreover, Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* employs the episode as scenic setting though he himself disclaimed any intention of having made it an historical description or literally true. What, however, promises to be a real scholarly account, based on extensive historical research and careful complete study, is even now in process of preparation by Professor Arthur E. Bester, Jr. of the Department of History in Columbia University, New York. We may eagerly await and heartily welcome the publication of this work, for it is quite beyond my purpose now and entirely outside the province and limitations of this hour to thus review for you in full or to even adequately summarize the story of Brook Farm.

There are a number of the fields which were there plowed and tilled we have not now the time to enter on or to explore, a number of the crops that were there sown and cultivated though not brought, it is true, to final harvest that I must pass by with but a cursory glance. There was, for instance, the school which they inaugurated and conducted, advanced and progressive in its principles of education, anticipating many of the ideas and methods which men call modern even now. There were pupils sent there from New York, even from as far away as Cuba and the Philippines. Neither can I now refer to the field work and domestic service, the manual labors in which all members were supposed to take some willing part and share, the union of the hand and mind as illustrated by the motto, "Think like a man of action, act like a man of thought." I cannot pause to tell you of the Print Shop and the Industries which were established in the later secondary period of the experiment when a more formalized organization of the community into departments and orders and groups called a Phalanx took place, this being based on the elaborate system proposed by a French Socialist philosopher named Charles Fourier and sponsored in this country by Albert Brisbane. This was a fantastic scheme which while enthusiastically adopted for a time by those who took the name of Associationists soon fell by its own cumbersome weight although to it there may be possibly traced certain seeds of the

Trades Union and Labor movements in America. Nor can we here deal with the Harbinger that bird-like herald of a dawning day that was there published for a time. I cannot even tell you, as I would, about the social life of the community, its outdoor services at Pulpit Rock where the Apostle Eliot is supposed to have once preached to Indians. This still stands in now somewhat disfigured surroundings, a boulder or ledge of pudding stone which I trust will be preserved and suitably marked as a part of the anniversary celebration this year. Neither can I describe in detail the program of lectures, festivals, entertainments and dances or those innumerable episodes of an often amusing even humorous sort, the atmosphere of spontaneous gaiety that there prevailed, the "Rippling" nature of the place, if I may be pardoned for personally making a rather poor pun, such as they were themselves, it is reported, often guilty of. Neither is this the occasion in which to analyze the several factors that conspired to cause difficulties in the running of the enterprise and after some five years of happy, brave endeavor to obstruct its flow, necessitating a cessation, for it is not, as has been intimated, with the economic and sociological aspects of this particular experiment, its experience as a Utopian community in common with others such as those at New Harmony and Hopedale and Red Bank or Northampton and Fruitlands, for example, which were also in existence then, that we are now primarily concerned, but rather with its more distinctive features, its particular relationship to Unitarians, its special type of a religious impulse, its Transcendental source and spring.

Let me then briefly remind you that although we live today in what we all regard, no doubt, as being an extremely critical and crucial time, an epoch-making era when anything can happen and surprising changes are occurring all around, transitions taking place, on the verge of impending upheavals, so did people of a century ago believe concerning their own immediate age. Indeed that decade has been frequently referred to as the "fabulous" or "roaring" forties, so in ferment were the thoughts of men, so many and diverse far-reaching the reforms about which they were then excited and upon which they were then en-

gaged. This new world of ours, America, had then come, so to speak, to its age of adolescence, with all of the typical manifestations of uneasiness and unrest, revolt, of yearning, welling desires, even perhaps, of growing pains that characteristically beset an individual in that comparable period of his experience. A sense of dissatisfaction was being felt by many people with the traditional systems of thought and conventional codes of the social order which, they declared, impressed them as having become artificial, stiff and stifling, quite insufficient, even obsolete, so mechanistic and commercial did they seem. They were keenly conscious of existing inequalities and highly sensitive to current evils, moral wrongs. Moreover, like most adolescents, they had abundant confidence in their own capabilities and powers for effecting a reform and achieving an improvement in affairs. They felt an urgent instinct to adventure and explore. They were apostles of "the Newness" as they said.

Such, then, in a large measure was the temperament and spirit of that little group of men and women, mainly young and living in the neighborhood of Boston, known as the Transcendental Club, including individuals, such as Alcott, Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Elizabeth Peabody, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker, and the like. It is significant to note that almost all of these persons were of Unitarian birth, descent and training or family affiliation. But true to the characteristic nature of that liberal faith in which they had been reared, they refused to be confined to any single sect, declined to stay settled and put, wished rather to be ever moving on. Influenced, in part, by the European philosophies of Kant, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Carlyle, to which when introduced by Frederick Henry Hedge and others on this side, they readily responded, they here began to preach and practice larger, more exclusive, tolerant, emancipated ways of thought and life.

Prominent among this group, one at whose home the Club first met in 1836 was the clergyman, George Ripley of the church in Purchase Street. Explaining to his congregation the purpose he had come to have at heart and for which he felt he must resign, he in a sermon said: "There is a class of persons

who desire a reform in the prevailing philosophy of the day. They are called Transcendentalists because they believe in an order of truth that transcends the sphere of the external senses. Their leading idea is the supremacy of mind over matter; hence they maintain that the truth of religion does not depend on traditional nor historical facts but has an unswerving witness in the soul. There is a light, they believe, which enlighteneth every man who cometh into the world, there is a faculty in all, even the most degraded, the most ignorant, the most obscure, to perceive spiritual truth when distinctly presented and the ultimate appeal on all moral questions is not to a jury of scholars, a hierarchy of divines, or the prescriptions of a creed but to the common sense of the human race. . . . There is also a class of persons who are devoted to the removal of the abuses that prevail in modern society, they witness the oppressions done under the sun and cannot keep silence. They have faith that God governs man, they believe in a better future than the past, their daily prayer is for the coming of the kingdom of righteousness, truth and love, they look forward to a more pure, more lovely, more divine state of society than has ever been realized on earth. 'With these views,' he announced, 'I rejoice to say I entirely and strongly sympathize.' " This was a sentiment, we note, quite similar in tone to Parker's famous sermon in South Boston some months later.

So with the courage, born of this conviction, it was he who having talked the matter over with many of his conferees in the Club dared to "actualize," a phrase he often liked to use, or put in practice the ideals that had been thus declared by inaugurating the cooperative enterprise known as Brook Farm. It was an Institute for Agriculture and Education designed as its first article of Association stated: "To more effectually promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external relationships of life on a basis of wisdom and purity; to apply the principles of justice and love to our social organization; to substitute a system of brotherly cooperation for one of selfish competition; to secure to our children and those entrusted to our care the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual and moral education in the present state of human

knowledge that the resources at our command will permit; to institute an attractive, efficient and productive system of industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire of excessive accumulation by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other the means of physical support and of spiritual progress and thus to impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement and moral dignity to our mode of life." This is a somewhat discursive, practically-minded, although idealistic statement, to be sure, but one which most of us as Unitarians, I take it, would none the less esteem essentially religious, even Christian in its import and its purpose although such words may not be mentioned there.

Of the members of that little group whose stimulating thought and conversation had instigated Ripley to proceed with his audacious plans, only Hawthorne actually joined the Movement and he but for some months, at that. William Ellery Channing to whose fundamental gospel of man's moral power, spiritual worth, the movement might be conceivably traced in a germ form, yet had no active contact with it and kept aloof, though had he not the next year died it is quite possible he would have said, as he did of his fiery young friend, Theodore Parker, "let the full heart pour itself forth." Emerson, when pressed to join, demurred though he would often visit there, as Margaret Fuller also frequently did from her home at the time near by in Forest Hills. Emerson confessed that for him "It was a little bit too much like going up to heaven in a swing" and many of the others made excuses, too, for preferring to stay in civilization, corrupt though it might be. Theodore Parker, however, was Ripley's right-hand man and stalwart friend throughout, being over at the Farm from his parsonage at Spring Street as the village of West Roxbury was called, a mile or so away across the fields, repeatedly. Many of the members of the Institute could be usually found in his congregation for Sunday services as well. He was a moral and financial backer, too, typically idealist and empiricist as well, as were his leading

laymen or parishioners, Francis G. Shaw and George Russell. Moreover, it is of peculiar interest to note that Minot Pratt, one of the earliest members of the group who served it as chief farmer, had previously been the master printer of the *Christian Register* while Georgiana Bruce, an English lass, came from service as a governess in the home of Ezra Stiles Gannet, presumably with his approbation as also a niece of his did to be a pupil in the school. In fact though it was often and distinctly stated that no Christian denomination or religious sect was there preferred and favored, no creed prescribed (or proscribed, for that matter) but utter freedom of belief permitted and expected, indeed insisted on, so many shades of theological opinion ranging from Swedenborgian speculation to Romanist proclivities among a few could there be found, yet a majority, it is admitted, of the leading and most active members of friends of the Movement had, with the Ripleys, a Unitarian background. A number of them, indeed had originally studied for that ministry at the Harvard Divinity School, as for example George Partridge Bradford, Warren Burton, Christopher P. Cranch (the uncle it is of interest to note, of our honorary president here today), John Sullivan Dwight, who was later Boston's famous music critic, and William Henry Channing, the great doctor's nephew, concerning whose radiant though somewhat erratic ministry your proceedings had a paper a year or so ago. His heart if not his body, was always at Brook Farm. While James Freeman Clarke who had that very year of 1841 just come from the West to found in Boston the Church of the Disciples although not one of the Community or able to be active in the movement at the start, yet so valued its tradition that he personally bought and owned the Farm for quite a period in after years.

I often wish it might have been preserved in Unitarian possession still to serve us as a holy shrine but it perhaps is fitting, too, that other groups now have associations there, the Lutherans an orphan home while Roman Catholics and Jews surround it by "God's Acres" of their own. For what I have been endeavoring to say can be documented with a footnote, as it were, by a letter from the pen of an obscure member who lived there at

the time. "Dear Friend: In reply to your questions as to what the religious views of the Brook Farmers are, I might, if I wished to be curt, say that they are such as you see by their lives. I am aware, however, that what you really mean is what are their creeds as are they all Baptists, Trinitarians, Unitarians or what-not and I answer that I find here those who were brought up in every kind of belief, some who are from the Roman Catholic Church, some from the Jewish, some Trinitarians, some Unitarians, some from the Swedenborgian Church, some who are Liberals, some who are called 'come-outers' and Mr. P. (he means Parker, I suspect) who professes to be and is more like an infidel than any other man I ever saw. The people here do not dispute on the religious creeds; they are too busy. They work together, dine and sup together, year in and year out, in intimate social relation and do not either have angry disputes or quarrels about creeds or anything else. But the majority are Unitarian in their belief. Mr. Ripley, with a majority of the ladies, lean that way. All Mr. Ripley's writings on social subjects breathe a religious air. It is true they are not creedal but his idea is that every act of life should be from a true and earnest spirit and that this is the substance of all creeds. The lesson that I have most taken to heart here is that by examining with respect the many different faiths, we gain a higher idea of a Being who has an exhaustless variety in his attributes. As ever, yours . . ."

Well, is not that, I ask, a rather fair description and attractive picture of what we like to consider the Unitarian spirit itself, a vitalizing and refreshing faith forever flowing on, a stream of righteousness, a brook of living water, as it were, making of earth a Paradise? And so as Hawthorne has one of his characters wistfully confess toward the close of the *Blithedale Romance*, may we not all be tempted to say, "Often in these years that are darkening around me I remember that beautiful scheme of a noble and unselfish life and how fair in that first summer appeared the prospect that it might endure for generations and be perfected as the ages rolled by into the system of a people and a world. Were those former Associates now there, were there only three or four of those true-hearted men still

laboring in the sun, I sometimes fancy that I should direct my world-weary footsteps thitherward and entreat them to receive me for old friendship's sake. More and more I feel they struck upon what ought to be a truth, posterity may dig it up and profit by it."

It almost seems as if our own dear latter day saint William Channing Gannett must have had the place and some such thought in mind when he wrote the lovely hymn lines:

From heart to heart, from creed to creed
The hidden river runs;
It quickens all the ages down,
It binds the sires to sons:

The stream of faith whose source is God
Whose sound, the sound of prayer,
Whose meadows are the holy lives
Upspringing everywhere.

And still it moves, a broadening flood
And fresher, fuller grows,
A sense as if the sea were near
Toward which the river flows.

O Thou who art the secret source
That riseth in each soul,
Thou art the ocean, too, and Thine
That ever deepening roll.

Early Records of the Seventeenth Century Churches in Massachusetts Which Became Unitarian

1. 1620, December 11. **PLYMOUTH** First Church in Plymouth

The Pilgrim Fathers founded this church at Scrooby in England in 1602. It was the first church to be planted in New England and is now the oldest surviving Protestant church in the New World. Both church and parish became Unitarian under James Kendall, D. D. (1800-1859).

The records of the church, 1620-1859, were printed by The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, volumes 22 and 23. Lists of admissions and baptisms begin in 1703.

2. 1629, August 6. **SALEM** First Congregational Church

This is the first Congregational church to be organized in America. Both church and parish became Unitarian without division under John Prince, D. D. (1779-1836). In 1923, the North Congregational Society in Salem (Unitarian) united with the First Church.

Lists of admissions begin in 1629 and baptisms in 1636. They are printed in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, volumes 6 and 7, etc.

3. 1630, June 6. **DORCHESTER** First Parish Church

This church, the oldest in the city of Boston, became Unitarian without controversy or division under Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D. (1793-1826).

The records of admissions and baptisms begin in 1636, and are published in "Records of the First Church in Dorchester, 1636-1734," Boston, 1891, 270 pp. Lists of baptisms, deaths, admissions and covenant members, 1729-1845, may be seen at City Hall, Boston.

4. 1630, July 30. **BOSTON** First Church in Boston

Charles Chauncy, D.D., minister of the church from 1727 to 1787, was a liberal and the church became definitely Unitarian without division under John Clark, D.D. (1778-1798) and William Emerson (1799-1811).

Admissions and baptisms begin in 1630. Full transcripts of original records may be seen at the church, and a copy (1630-1847) is also to be found at the City Hall, Boston. Admissions from 1630 to 1640 (445 in all) are printed in the Memorial History of Boston, I. pp. 566-573, Boston, 1882. Baptisms, 1630-1699, are printed in Boston City Document, Number 130, 1883.

5. 1630, July 30. **WATERTOWN** First Parish in Watertown
The Watertown church was the first to be formed away from the sea coast, and is the oldest in Middlesex County. The parish became Unitarian under Convers Francis, D.D. (1819-1842).

The early records are lost. Admissions and baptisms begin in 1686, and are published in full in "Watertown Records," Volume IV., "Book of the Pastors, 1686 to 1819." Boston, 1906, 226 pp.

6. 1632. **ROXBURY** First Church in Roxbury
Without controversy or division, this church and parish became Unitarian under Eliphalet Porter, D.D. (1782-1833) and George Putnam, D.D. (1830-1878).

The records begin in 1631. Admissions, 1631-1775, (pp. 73-111) and baptisms, 1641-1775, incomplete, (pp. 114-170), are published in Boston City Document Number 114, Boston, 1881. W. E. Thwing: History of the First Church in Roxbury, (1908, 428 pp.) lists admissions from 1631 to 1895.

7. 1632. **DUXBURY** First Congregational Parish
The Duxbury parish is the oldest offshoot of the Plymouth church. Both church and parish became Unitarian without schism under John Allyn, D.D. (1788-1825).

The early records are lost: those which remain begin in 1732.

8. 1633, Oct. 11. **CAMBRIDGE** First Parish and First Church
A doctrinal controversy which arose in 1816, (after the Harvard University Chapel had been organized as a separate Unitarian church thus weakening the liberal element in the old church), was settled in 1829, when Abiel Holmes, D.D. (1792-1829) and the Trinitarian minority in the parish seceded to form the Shepard Congregational Church (by courtesy,

now the First church, Congregational). Liberal under Nathaniel Appleton, D.D. (1717-1784) and Timothy Hilliard (1783-1790), the parish became definitely Unitarian under William Newell, D.D. (1830-1868).

A photostat of admissions under Thomas Shepard (1636-1649) may be seen in the Widener Library. Admissions and baptisms, beginning in 1658, and earlier, are published in "Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England, 1632-1830," (Boston, 1906, 579 pp., edited by Stephen P. Sharples.)

9. 1634/5, January 18. **SCITUATE** First Parish in Scituate

The parish by a large majority and the church by a small majority became Unitarian during the ministry of Nehemiah Thomas, (1792-1831).

The earliest admissions and baptisms, 1635-1639, are noted in the Journal of John Lothrop, who was settled at Scituate during these years. After 1639, there is a gap in the records. Extracts from the above mentioned journal are published in the New England Historic-Genealogical Register, IX.: 279-287; X.: 37-43.

10. 1635, September 18. **HINGHAM** First Parish in Hingham

Both church and parish became Unitarian under Ebenezer Gay, D.D. (1718-1787) and Henry Ware, D.D. (1787-1805). The present meeting house was built in 1681.

An imperfect record of baptisms (1635-1679) may be gleaned from Peter Hobart's Journal, a copy of which may be seen at the New England Historic-Genealogical Society in Boston.

11. 1636, July 5. **CONCORD** First Parish in Concord

Church and parish became Unitarian during the ministry of Ezra Ripley, D.D. (1778-1841). The Trinitarian minority seceded on June 5, 1826, to form the Second Congregational Society.

The records of the church begin in 1739.

12. 1637. **TAUNTON** First Congregational Society

The church and parish became Unitarian under Luther Hamilton (1821-1832). In 1824, four men and twenty-five

women, a minority of the church, seceded to form the Broadway Congregational Church.

Lechford names the founders of this church. The early records are missing, having been destroyed by fire, along with the town records, in 1838.

13. 1638. **SANDWICH**

First Parish in Sandwich

This is the oldest church on the Cape. The parish became Unitarian by a majority vote (83 to 80!) during the ministry of Ezra Shaw Goodwin (1813-1833). It is now federated with the Calvinist Society (1813) and the Methodist Society (1796).

The earliest records date from 1694. "Records of marriages, baptisms and deaths, 1722-1734, copied from the diary of Rev. Benjamin Fessenden," (1722-1746), are published in the New England Historic-Genealogical Register, XII.: 311-312.

14. 1638, November 8. **DEDHAM**

First Church in Dedham

By the famous "Dedham Court Decision," 1818, this church became Unitarian during the ministry of Alvan Lamson, D.D. (1818-1860), a majority of the parish (81 to 44) and church (25 to 15) being Unitarian.

The records begin in 1638, with a full account of the gathering of the church. Volume II., 1671 to 1724, is unfortunately missing. "The Record of the Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths and Admissions to the Church and Dismissals therefrom, transcribed from the Church Records in the Town of Dedham," was published in 1888, 348 pages.

15. 1639, Sept. 16. **BRAINTREE** First Cong. Society in Quincy

This church became Unitarian under Lemuel Briant (1745-1753) without division or controversy. (Testimony of President John Adams). Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams and their wives are buried in the crypt of the present stone church.

During the early period only the names of the founders and the deacons and records of admissions from 1672 to 1707 have been preserved, but John Hancock (1726-1744) quoted from the missing First Book of Records (1638-1726), as late as 1736. Full records commence with the pastorate of Mr. Hancock, in 1726.

16. 1639, Oct. 11. **BARNSTABLE** East Church in Barnstable

The "Congregational Church and Society of the East Precinct" became Unitarian early in the last century without division; the West Church remained orthodox.

Extracts from "John Lothrop's Journal: Scituate and Barnstable Church Records, 1635-1653" are published in the New England Historic-Genealogical Register, IX.: 279-287; X.: 37-43. Records of the Reverend Jonathan Russell, 1683-1702, are also printed, Ibid., X.: 345-351.

17. 1640. **SUDBURY** First Parish in Wayland

The Wayland church became Unitarian before 1828, at which time the Trinitarian minority seceded. On February 11, 1723, Israel Loring was settled over the West Parish, now Sudbury proper; the original parish is now in Wayland.

The earliest records are missing. A transcript of the full but imperfect records commencing about 1706, may be seen at the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston. Only the records from 1706 to 1723, pertain to the First Church. Later records refer to the present First Parish in Sudbury.

18. 1641, July. **EDGARTOWN** First Parish in Edgartown

This church, the original parish of Martha's Vineyard, became Unitarian under the preaching of Joseph Thaxter (1780-1827), but has since become extinct.

The early records are missing. Transcripts of the existing records may be seen at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

19. 1641. **HAVERHILL** First Parish in Haverhill

The Haverhill church was organized October 24, 1645, when John Ward (1641-1693) was ordained. The parish became Unitarian under Abiel Abbot, D.D. (1795-1803), but is now dormant.

The earliest records consist of baptisms by John Rolfe (1693-1708). Lists of admissions begin in 1711. Names of members admitted before 1708, were compiled in 1723.

20. 1642. **GLOUCESTER** First Parish in Gloucester

During the ministry of Hosea Hildreth (1825-1833), the parish became Unitarian.

The records begin in 1703, with the ministry of John White.

21. 1642|3, February 2. **SCITUATE** First Parish in Norwell

The Second or South Church in Scituate is the present First Parish in Norwell. David Barnes, D.D. (1754-1811) was a liberal. During the ministry of Samuel Deane (1810-1834), the historian of Scituate, the church and parish became Unitarian with no dissenting voices.

Records of baptisms begin in 1645; admissions in 1704. Both are published in the New England Historic-Genealogical Register, volumes 57-59.

22. 1645, Oct. 24. **ANDOVER** No. Church of No. Andover

Under the preaching of Bailey Loring (1810-1850), both church and parish became Unitarian. In 1834, fourteen members seceded to found the Evangelical Church.

The names of the ten founders of this church have been preserved, but records are lacking from 1645 to 1682. With the ministry of Thomas Barnard (1682-1718), full records begin.

23. 1650, June 5. **BOSTON** Second Church in Boston

Founded because of lack of room in the meeting house of the First Church in Boston, this original "Old North Church," or the church of the Mathers, as it has often been called, united with the "Brick Church," at the time of the American Revolution. Under Henry Ware, Jr., D.D. (1817-1830), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1829-1832), the Concord "Sage," and Chandler Robbins, D.D. (1833-1874), the Second Church became Unitarian without controversy or division.

Admissions and baptisms, 1676-1740, are published in the "History of the Second Church in Boston," by Chandler Robbins, pp. 226-291. Lists of admissions and baptisms 1676-1816, may be found at City Hall, Boston.

24. 1651. **WEST BRIDGEWATER** First Congregational Soc.

The First Church of the Bridgewaters became Unitarian under John Reed, D.D. (1780-1831). The early records are missing.

25. 1651, **MEDFIELD** First Congregational Parish

Both church and parish became liberal under Thomas Prentiss, D.D. (1770-1814), and Unitarian under his successor,

Daniel Clark Sanders, D.D. (1815-1829). In 1815, there were 87 members of the church. Of this number, only seventeen members seceded to form the Second Congregational Church, 1817.

A list of members in 1697 is preserved. The earliest records extant date from 1738.

26. 1653. **LANCASTER**

First Church of Christ.

This is the oldest church in Worcester County. Under Nathaniel Thayer, D.D. (1792-1840), both church and parish became Unitarian without division.

The earliest records were destroyed when the town was burned by the Indians, February 10, 1675|6. Full records exist from 1708 to the present time. They have been published. See H. S. Nourse: *The Birth, Marriage and Death Register . . . Church Records . . .*, 1643-1850. Lancaster, 1890, pp. 270-373.

27. 1655, Nov. 13. **CHELMSFORD** First Congregational Soc.

Under the preaching of Hezekiah Packard, D.D. (1793-1802) and Wilkes Allen (1803-1832), this church and parish became Unitarian.

Early records at Wenham, 1637-1655, and at Chelmsford, 1655-1675, are to be found in the journal of John Fiske, the first minister of these churches. Admissions and baptisms from this journal have been published by Mr. Samuel A. Green.

28. 1663, Nov. 11. **BILLERICA**

First Parish Church

Both church and parish became Unitarian in 1814, when Nathaniel Whitman (1814-1835) was ordained. By 1820, only two members had withdrawn.

The early church records are missing, but a few items may be gleaned from the town records.

29. 1664, July 13. **GROTON**

First Church of Christ

The First Parish dates from 1655; both parish and church became Unitarian about 1825.

Records of baptisms begin in 1706, and admissions begin in 1707. These are published in the Groton Historical Series, volume I., No. 10, 1886, and volume IV., No. 1, 1896.

30. 1667, Sept. 20. **BEVERLY**

First Parish in Beverly

Both church and parish became Unitarian without division

during the ministry of Abiel Abbot, D.D. (1803-1828).

The records of the First Church, 1667-1772, with baptisms, 1667-1772, were published by the Essex Institute, 1899-1905.

31. 1669, December 1, **MENDON** First Parish in Mendon

Both church and parish became Unitarian in 1818, under the preaching of Simon Doggett (1814-1831).

Early records are lacking, probably having been burned by the Indians when the town was destroyed. Items regarding the settlement of ministers and the building of meeting houses may be gleaned from the town records.

32. 1678, April 24, **MILTON** First Congregational Parish

Samuel Gile, D.D. (1804-1834) and a minority of the parish seceded in 1834, to form the First Evangelical Church in Milton. The old church and parish then became Unitarian, giving a unanimous call to Benjamin Huntoon (1834-1837) to become the minister.

The church records begin in 1678, with the names of the twelve founders. By 1681, there were eighty members. During this year the first child was baptized. Peter Thacher's Journal (1679-1699) preserves many records relating to the church. (See Teele: History of Milton, pp. 641-657).

33. 1685, March 26. **SHERBORN** First Congregational Society

Both church and parish became Unitarian under Amos Clarke (1828-1841).

The earliest records were undoubtedly destroyed with other valuable manuscripts, when Mr. Gookin's parsonage was burned.

34. 1686, June 15, **BOSTON** King's Chapel

King's Chapel was the first Episcopal church in Massachusetts and the first Unitarian church in America, 1785. Under the leadership of James Freeman, D.D. (1783-1835), the church became Unitarian because of an independent revision of the "Book of Common Prayer" which is still in use.

The records of the church are published in H. W. Foote's admirable "Annals of King's Chapel," 1882. Lists of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1703-1844, may be consulted at City Hall, Boston.

35. 1688, Oct. 17, **DEERFIELD** First Congregational Church
Deerfield town and church suffered tremendously from Indian massacres and depredations. Since the time of Jonathan Ashley (1732-1780), the First Church has been liberal in its theology. It became distinctly Unitarian under the preaching of Samuel Willard, D.D. (1807-1829).

The seventeenth century records were destroyed when the town was burned, 1704.

36. 1696, February 4, **WALTHAM** First Parish in Waltham
This entire church and parish became Unitarian during the ministry of Samuel Ripley (1809-1846). During this time the Second Religious Society, 1820, and the Independent Congregational Society, 1841, both became Unitarian. These two parishes later reunited with the First Parish Church.

Samuel Angier's records begin in 1697. In the course of his ministry 95 persons were admitted to the church and 706 were baptized.

37. 1696, Oct. 21, **LEXINGTON** First Congregational Church
On the common before this historic church was fought the opening battle of the American Revolution. Church and parish both became Unitarian by unanimous choice during the ministry of Charles Briggs (1820-1835).

The records begin in 1696, and have been kept regularly to the present time.

38. 1698, Dec. 12, **BOSTON** Brattle Street Church
This was the fourth Congregational church in Boston. Its clergy and constituency were perhaps the most distinguished in New England. It became Unitarian without division under Joseph Stevens Buckminster (1805-1812).

"Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston, with lists of communicants, baptisms, marriages and funerals, 1699-1872," Boston, 1902.

39. 1700, **STOW** First Parish in Stow
During the pastorate of John Langdon Sibley (1829-1833), later the Librarian of Harvard University, both church and parish became Unitarian.

Lists of baptisms begin about the commencement of the American Revolution, and are in part published in the Vital Records of the town, when birth records are missing.

40. 1700, Oct. 16. **BREWSTER** First Parish in Brewster
John Simpkins (1791-1831) was minister when this church became Unitarian.

The early records, in the handwriting of Nathaniel Stone (1700-1755), are well preserved.

Note:- The First or South Church in Marshfield, 1632, was liberal under Reverend William Shaw, D.D. (1766-1816), and the Reverend Martin Parris (1817-1836) was supposed to be Unitarian in sympathy when he was ordained here by seven neighboring Unitarian ministers. But he reverted to orthodoxy and the church did so with him. Similar proceedings happened in several other colonial churches.

The first Parish in Medford supported preaching as early as 1634, but no church was gathered here until February 11, 1712|3.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CHURCHES

1645 Andover, 22	1635 Hingham, 10
1639 Barnstable, 16	1653 Lancaster, 26
1663 Billerica, 28	1696 Lexington, 37
1667 Beverly, 30	1651 Medfield, 25
1630 Boston I., 4	1669 Mendon, 31
1650 Boston II., 23	1678 Milton, 32
1686 Boston, King's Chapel, 34	1645 North Andover, 22
1698 Boston, Brattle Street, 38	1643 Norwell, 21
1639 Braintree, 15	1620 Plymouth, 1
1700 Brewster, 40	1639 Quincy, 15
1651 Bridgewater, 24	1632 Roxbury, 6
1633 Cambridge, 8	1629 Salem, 2
1655 Chelmsford, 27	1638 Sandwich, 12
1636 Concord, 11	1634 Scituate I., 9
1638 Dedham, 14	1643 Scituate II., 21
1688 Deerfield, 35	1685 Sherborn, 33
1630 Dorchester, 3	1700 Stow, 39
1632 Duxbury, 7	1640 Sudbury, 17
1641 Edgartown, 18	1637 Taunton, 12
1642 Gloucester, 20	1696 Waltham, 36
1664 Groton, 29	1630 Watertown, 5
1641 Haverhill, 19	1640 Wayland, 12
	1651 West Bridgewater, 24

The records of the seventeenth century churches of Massachusetts are probably in better condition than those of any other colony. Yet deplorable losses have been sustained by neglect and such misfortunes as the destruction of parsonages by fire and of whole villages by Indian depredations.

The loss of seventeenth century records of the Old Colony churches has been most unfortunate. Three parishes alone;— those of Scituate, Barnstable and Norwell, possess early records and these are of a fragmentary nature, being due in part to the preservation of an early copy of the Reverend John Lothrop's Journal and of the volume of baptisms of the Norwell church.

At the Massachusetts Bay, the records of the First Church in Boston are in splendid condition. Those of Salem, Dorchester, Roxbury and Dedham, among Unitarian churches, and of Charlestown alone among orthodox churches, — (while suffering from minor imperfections and lapses, notably: Roxbury baptisms, 1689-1750; and Volume II., of Dedham Church Records, 1670-1724)—are commendably preserved and printed. Beginning with the year 1658, the Cambridge church records have been edited and printed. In the preservation of the records of these large flourishing churches, posterity is extremely fortunate.

On the other hand, destruction either wholly or in part by the Indians of the towns of Lancaster, Medfield, Groton, Mendon, Sudbury, Haverhill, Deerfield and many other frontier settlements accounted for the loss of the earliest records of the churches in these places. The loss, for one reason or another, of the earliest church records at Watertown, Lynn, Ipswich, Newbury, Concord, Springfield, Salisbury, Rowley, Woburn, Rehoboth, Malden and other places is serious indeed. Happily those of many of the churches gathered during the second half of the seventeenth century are in better condition and after the third decade of the eighteenth century full records of nearly all of these churches exist.

The above rather pathetic inventory of early Massachusetts church records has been made to emphasize the need of the

most careful preservation of such documents and volumes as exist today — and to make clear how important to posterity is the printing of all early records by those parishes financially able to undertake such a task.

These original documents are treasured today as the most precious possessions of our ancient parishes. But it should also be borne in mind that there are hundreds of thousands of descendants of the founders of these churches scattered from coast to coast who also have a continuing interest in these records. We owe it to their posterity and to our own that the records which remain in our charge be guarded with the most scrupulous care.

Frederick L. Weis,
Christopher R. Eliot,
Robert D. Richardson,
Committee on Church Records.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1941

The Forty-First Annual Meeting of the Unitarian Historical Society was held in King's Chapel, on Tuesday, May 20, 1941, at 10 o'clock, the President, Rev. Dr. Christopher R. Eliot, presiding.

The Record of the Fortieth Annual Meeting was read and approved.

The Treasurer, Mr. Harrie H. Dadmun, then read his report which was approved. The report of the Auditor, Mr. Gorham Dana, attesting the correctness of the Treasurer's report, was then read and accepted and placed on file.

The Report of the Librarian was printed in the present number of the Proceedings and was therefore not read but allowed to stand as printed.

The President then declared that the Proceedings were sent to 125 libraries throughout the country. He then read two letters, the first being from Dr. Wilbur stating that letters were beginning to arrive from Poland from one of which we learn that the Socinus Monument is still in good condition. The second letter mentioned the 75th Anniversary of the church in Portland, Oregon.

The Secretary then spoke for the Publication Committee, calling attention to the present number of the Proceedings.

The next business was the report of the Nominating Committee, the Reverend William Channing Brown, Chairman, the Reverend Harold Greene Arnold and Stephen W. Phillips, Esq. They submitted the following names of persons, who were duly elected to their respective offices.

The Rev. Frederick L. Weis, Th.D., President

The Rev. Charles E. Park, D.D., Vice-President

The Rev. Earl M. Wilbur, D.D., Hon. Vice-President

The Rev. Henry W. Foote, D.D., Hon. Vice-President

The Rev. Robert D. Richardson, Secretary

Harrie H. Dadmun, Esq., Treasurer

Miss Edith F. Gardner, Librarian

and the following Directors for three years:

Miss Harriet E. Johnson, 1941-1944

Mr. John Gardner Greene, 1941-1944

Mr. Gorham Dana was reelected Auditor, and the following nominating Committee for 1942 was elected:

The Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, D.D.

Stephen W. Phillips, Esq.

The Rev. Edward D. Johnson

The retiring President, Dr. Christopher R. Eliot, was then unanimously elected President Emeritus, which position he graciously accepted.

At 10.45, the Business Meeting was adjourned.

In introducing the first speaker of the morning, Dr. Eliot spoke of the 100th Anniversary of Theodore Parker's sermon on "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity" which had been appropriately celebrated on May 19, 1941, in King's Chapel, by an able and eloquent address by the Reverend Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., LL.D., one of the members of this Society.

The two papers of the morning were, first, by Mr. John Gardner Greene — an account of the "Western Messenger, 1835-1841," and second, by the Reverend Harold Greene Arnold — "Unitarian Sources of Brook Farm."

With words of encouragement for the future welfare and usefulness of the society, the retiring President, Dr. Christopher R. Eliot, then declared the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Frederick L. Weis
Secretary

NOTES

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 3, London, W. C. Holt, Editor.

This number of the "Transactions" came in October, 1941, and is about half the usual size, due to war conditions, but with articles of special interest. We note, first of all, the twenty-fifth annual report with its comment "curtailed, like the activities of the Society during the past year." No wonder! But the Society has held together, and without serious losses. The annual meeting was held in Manchester College, Oxford. Ten new members were gained during the year. Miss Anne Holt of Liverpool continues Honorary Editor.

The leading article is "Nineteenth Century Liturgies," by A. Elliott Peaston, whose name appears again in the Book Review Column as the author of "The Prayer Book Reform Movement in the XVIIIth Century," 1941.

It seems that the desire for a revised English Prayer Book was strong chiefly, as one would expect, among the Nonconformists — the Arians, English Presbyterians, and Unitarians, but was not by any means confined to them. There were Anglicans also anxious for such a revision, and the result was two "Liturgies," one by Dr. Samuel Clarke, and the "Liverpool Liturgy" in 1763, provided for a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Liverpool. The first was used in part by Theophilus Lindsay and by many other Unitarian ministers. Four successive editions were published. Its chief excellence was in omitting all disputed doctrines in addressing the Diety, and in using only phrases in which "all Christians could unite." The Eighteenth Century liturgies, so this reviewer tells us, betrayed "a rationalistic tone and were deeply influenced by the Newtonian Science. . . . The order, beauty and majesty of the Universe made a profound impression upon the congregations of that period, and stirred them with wonder, reverence and praise."

So much for the 18th; but the movement continued through the 19th, as the carefully prepared article by Peaston reveals. It was so notably among Unitarians. At first, "The guiding

principle was that every prayer and hymn should be in harmony with the Holy Scriptures." But nevertheless, objectionable phrases, such as "there is no health in us," "miserable offenders," "for his sake," are freely omitted.

Then came a new type of Unitarianism, "philosophical rather than biblical." A book of "Common Prayer for Christian Worship" was issued for which two services were prepared by James Martineau, to whom Peaston refers as "a liturgical editor of rare genius — with profound spirituality and poetic inspiration." Studies continued and book after book of liturgies appeared, until there had been forty-one by Unitarians alone: "Ten Services" in 1879: the Liverpool, Bradford and Sheffield liturgies, in 1905 and 1906: the Martineau services were used again and again, with many prayers, which, says Peaston, "have become part of our national heritage." Later came services compiled by W. Copeland Bowie, and "Thirty Orders of Service" by R. Crompton Jones. Peaston ends his interesting account of Nineteenth Century Liturgies as follows:

"Nineteenth century liturgy is eloquent of a vigorous intellectual life among Unitarians. The liturgical movement still flourishes, bringing to our services 'treasures new and old.' The editors of 'Common Prayer' (1862) said truly, 'Every age, in taking up the chorus of ancient devotion, throws in some quality of tone not heard before: the hymn is the same but the voice is different.' "

C. R. E.

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